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NIMMO'S NARRATIVE

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NARRATIVE OF MR. JAMES NIMMO

WRITTEN FOR HIS OWN SATISFACTION
TO KEEP IN SOME REMEMBRANCE THE
LORD'S WAY DEALING AND KIND-
NESS TOWARDS HIM

1654-1709

Edited from the Original Manuscript with
Introduction and Notes by

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EDINBURGH

Printed at the University Press by T. and A. CONSTABLE
for the Scottish History Society

1889

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INTRODUCTION.

THE narrative of my ancestor James Nimmo has perhaps an interest theological rather than historical. The period to which he belonged is one of much importance in Scottish history ; he was the witness of more than one striking event, and his life was not without its romantic incidents. But his main object in writing, and one never lost sight of, was to record for his own and descendants' benefit his experiences as a Christian man, his sins and follies with their punishments, his mercies and deliverances, his depths of despair and heights of spiritual ecstasy. Such a narrative, it is almost unnecessary to say, is very characteristic of the author's creed and times. Many contemporaneous specimens could be found both in England and Scotland. To this class of literature, for example, belongs the celebrated *Grace Abounding* of John Bunyan. The Covenanters were prone to preserve in writing both their meditations and their vows. The public act from which they derive their name was accompanied by many similar private acts. Not only was the National Covenant subscribed, but individuals wrote out and signed their own undertakings with the Deity.¹ Nimmo's wife, Elizabeth Brodie, and his daughter Mrs. William Hogg, have both followed his example, and have left records of a nature somewhat similar to that now published. Indeed, a Covenanter who had the slightest gift for composition would have probably considered it a sin had he failed gratefully to record God's dealings with his soul.

¹ For illustrations of this, see the *Diaries of the Brodies*. Spalding Club.

‘Having had,’ writes Mrs. Nimmo, ‘many convictions for not recording more exactly the wonderful doings of the Lord about me in my pilgrimage condition, I therefore here resolve to take notice of some particulars thereof, briefly, as the Lord shall be pleased to help me.’¹

It is certainly to be regretted that Nimmo, especially in the earlier portion of his narrative, has bestowed so little attention upon what was going on around him—that, for example, he should dispose of the battle of Bothwell Brig, and the dissensions which contributed to the defeat of his party upon that occasion, in a few lines. He can, when he chooses, describe well, although neither his grammar nor his spelling is to be commended; and he has recorded his various escapes from captivity and death in a pithy and effective manner. Nor is he without a certain element of dry or—one might perhaps call it—grim humour. But surely, he who would throw aside such a narrative as utterly worthless from an historical point of view, because of its mainly theological character, must have but a narrow conception of what history means. The acts of any particular age cannot be properly studied apart from some knowledge of the beliefs and the mental condition of those who performed them. This of course holds peculiarly true of such a period as was the close of the seventeenth century in Scotland, when every event of importance was more or less connected with matters of religious controversy. Apart from his theology, a Covenanter is an utterly unintelligible being; when we learn something of his inner life—of the peculiar relationship which he believed to exist between himself and his God—of the supernatural guidance which he was always bound to follow implicitly, and without which he refused to act at all—then it is that we

¹ In the narrative of another ancestress of my own (Catherine Nisbet of Dirleton, wife of Colin Campbell, younger of Aberuchill) she mentions the efforts which Satan made to prevent its composition.

understand why a fervent royalist should take up arms against his king, and a devout worshipper refuse to enter his parish church. Upon the inner life, such a narrative as the one before us throws considerable light. There can be no doubt but that Nimmo, in his manner of viewing things in general, is a fair specimen of his party—of the genuine and truly devout members of it at all events. He was a man of some ability and education. If not a leader himself, he was the friend of leading men—of Crawford and Cardross, of Hog and Pringle. The same religious strain which characterises his narrative is to be found in the diaries of the Brodies of Brodie, father and son, and in other writings of the day. Nimmo is not a type of the moderate Covenanter represented by Sir Walter Scott in his character of young Morton—a type which was probably very rare. Neither is he, on the other hand, an out and out fanatic, whose principles would have led him to acts of violence. Although his trials were sore and prolonged, there is no breathing forth of vengeance against his enemies. What he chiefly concerned himself with were the effects of these trials upon his own soul's health, and the development, effected by them in himself, of a due humility.

Many have undertaken, both in the pages of fiction and of history, to set forth the Covenanter—to give us his peculiar phraseology, and an idea of the principles which regulated his conduct. Some have done this in a friendly, others in an unfriendly spirit. In the following pages a Covenanter speaks for himself. He invites us to accompany him when he retires for meditation and prayer. He reveals to us all his moments of spiritual joy and of dark despair, all the heartrending questions with which he tortured himself, and the mysterious answers, which, usually in the form of Scripture texts flashing upon his memory, brought to him assurance or rebuke. With some ingenuity texts apparently inappropriate are discovered to contain the very answer needed. He is anxious, for

example, about his approaching marriage, doubtful whether to proceed with it or not—‘that Scripture came with power on my spirit, II. Kings 7, 3, 14, anent the four lepers at the gate of Samaria, which the Lord made very applicable to my case.’

The theology of Nimmo is by no means an extinct system of beliefs, although it has become modified in the course of time in most places. In the Highlands of Ross and Caithness, however, there are to be found many who still think and express themselves upon religious subjects almost exactly as he did.

James Nimmo, the author of this narrative, was a native of Linlithgowshire or West Lothian, where his family seem to have been settled for several generations. In this district of country the Covenanters were strong. Although but a small county, the Linlithgowshire fines imposed by Middleton in 1662 amount to over £23,000 (Scots). The Nimmos at this time escaped, although their cousin Young at Killiekanty was found liable in £1200. Amongst the list of fugitives appended to the Royal Proclamation of May 5, 1684, there are over seventy from West Lothian—Nimmo himself appears in this list. A large proportion of the ministers in the Presbytery of Linlithgow were driven from their parishes after the Restoration, to more than one of whom Nimmo refers in the earlier portion of his Narrative.

The Nimmo family would appear to have resided in this neighbourhood as far back, at least, as the latter half of the sixteenth century. Our author begins with his great-grandfather, and he mentions that his own father, John, was born in 1622. The family seems to have possessed at one time or other a number of small properties¹—probably single farms—

¹ The various places mentioned in Nimmo's account of his family can still be identified. Midbridg or Midlbridg is a farm in Bathgate parish. Bridghous is about two miles from Torphichen, and is still known as ‘the Brighous.’ Wardlaw is in Linlithgow parish. West Craigs in that of Torphichen. The modern name of Killicanty is Woodbank—now a farm upon the estate of Bridgecastle. Boghall is in the parish of Bathgate.

and we have here an illustration of a state of matters to which in our days many would seek to return, by promoting an increase in the number of our landed proprietors. Three of the sons of John Nimmo (the second) each possessed separate estates. James Nimmo informs us that his father had good reason to expect the estate of Bridghous,¹ but was passed over in favour of a step-brother, upon whose behalf maternal influence was doubtless brought to bear. Hence James' father (John the third) was 'putt of w^t a small matter,' and had to content himself by farming the land of another near that place, to the possession of which he had at one time looked forward. In addition to his farming operations, he also acted as factor and bailie for Boghall, an estate which contributed at least one horse to the number of those exacted for militia purposes from the Lothians.²

The wife of this farmer and bailie, and the mother of our author, was Janet Muire, who could trace her descent from the ancient house of Rowallan, a race from which Robert II. had chosen his bride. The representative of this family during the earlier half of the seventeenth century, Sir William Muir, ranks amongst the minor poets of Scotland. His political and religious principles may be inferred from the title of one of his works, *The Cry of Blood and of a Broken Covenant*, published in 1650.

James Nimmo was an only son, and to this fact he attributes the vigour with which his original sin developed. And yet there is no evidence of any indulgence exhibited towards him by his parents. The picture, indeed, which he presents of his

¹ I have seen an extract from a contract of division of the Mains of Brighous, dated 1636, between John Nimmo, described as 'sometime in Wodend,' and Patrick Young of Killicantie, from which it appears that Brighous was the joint purchase of Nimmo and Young from the Earl of Linlithgow—each having become a 'portioner,' the one of two-thirds and the other of the remaining third. Nimmo and Young were probably brothers-in-law. There was a James Young of Killicantie alive in 1724.

² By the royal letters of 1678 that number was forty-six.

father is not a pleasing one. Nimmo senior, if the son is to be believed, was naturally a 'stiff' man—not disposed to confess himself in the wrong, and consequently much occupied with law affairs. He was prone to the exercise of parental authority, treated his son as a hired servant, and found fault with almost everything which he did.

While John Nimmo's sympathies were evidently upon the side of the Covenanters (we read of an outted minister attending him in sickness), he seems to have managed with some success to keep himself out of political difficulties, and never to have been convicted of any offence more serious than that of receiving letters from his outlawed son. To his father's hot temper Nimmo was, however, indebted for his removal from the school of Bathgate to a more important one in Stirling, which he tells us was much for his advantage—although in what respect he does not say. Certainly, for the space of three years he escaped from the domestic tyranny at home. School-days over, he returned to the dreary existence at Boghall. But his religious principles—the outcome of many a spiritual conflict—would not suffer him to remain in the safe obscurity of a farmer's life. He joined the insurgents whom the success of Drumclog had brought together, only to be scattered by the defeat of Bothwell Brig. His father does not seem to have opposed an act which caused his son to be a wanderer upon the face of the earth for many a year. After a hard experience of lying in cold barns, and a narrow escape from arrest, it became clear that Linlithgowshire was no safe locality for him. Holland—that refuge of so many of his fellow-countrymen—was thought of; but his steps were directed to a place of concealment nearer home. In Moray a considerable number of the local magnates were staunch Covenanters, and one of them, the laird of Park¹ and Loch-

¹ Sir Arthur Graham Hay, Bart., of Park (in Wigtownshire), who is now, I believe, the male representative of the famous house of Errol, has kindly

loy, was willing to take the outcast into his service. Shaw, in his history of Moray, under the head of Aldern parish, says, 'In the lower part of the parish towards the Frith is the barony of Inshoch, with a large, old house, the seat of the Hays of Lochloy and Park. This was a very ancient branch of the house of Errol, and were lairds of Park about 400 years. By their declining the lands of Inshoch and Park came into the family of Brodie about the beginning of this (eighteenth) century. The lands of Park in the west end of the parish were sold about the year 1724 to Hugh Hay, after whose death they were at a judicial sale in 1755 purchased by Sir Alexander Grant of Dalvey.' The Hays were connected with the families of Brodie and Lethen. David Brodie of

furnished me with the following pedigree of the Lochloy branch of his family:—

'Gilbert Hay of Erroll, *v.* 1250 to 1283, had sons—

1. Nicholas (main line). *See* Erroll.

2. Sir John, who married daughter of Sir Andrew Fraser and heiress of Touch and Tullibody.

Sir John had only one son—

Thomas, described as of Tholybothville; he left one son—

Sir John, also of Tholybothville, who had—

1. Sir John of Tholybothville.

2. William Hay of Lochloy and Park, 1421.

John Hay of Park and Lochloy, *v.* 1429.

William of Park and Lochloy, *d.* 1480.

John, succeeded 1480.

William, *v.* 1509-11.

John, *v.* 1549-51.

John, *d.* 1598.

1. John, *d.* 1596.

John, *o.s.p.*, 1600.

David, succeeded 1606.

1. David, succeeded by his son John.

2. William, *o.s.p.*

3. John of Strutheris and Urkney, *d.* 1631.

John of Park and Lochloy.

Sir John of Park and Lochloy, sold Lochloy, 1695.

William of Park, Lieut.-Colonel, *v.* 1704.

Hugh.

Dr. James, minister of Dyce and Elgin, *b.* 1736, *d.* 1784.

James Hay, last on record up to 1840.'

Brodie, who died in 1626, had married a Janet Hay of Lochloy. Anne Brodie, a sister of the laird of Lethen, who was Nimmo's contemporary, married Hugh Hay, a younger son of the Lochloy house.

In Moray, Nimmo found not only a refuge, but also a wife. The story of his marriage forms one of the most curious parts of the whole Narrative. Love and romance had no part in it, or, if they had, the fact is carefully concealed. Why his Christian friends should have thought it necessary that a poor refugee, whose prospects were dark indeed, should burden himself with family cares, it is hard to see. But a gentlewoman of sound principles was selected by them, and her name submitted for his consideration. By means of the elaborate pedigree of the Brodie family prepared by Mr. William Brodie of Eastbourne, I have been enabled to trace the family of Elizabeth Nimmo a little way back. She was the niece of Francis, and the granddaughter of John Brodie of Windyhill, an estate now known as Milton Brodie, having been sold to the Milton branch of the family in 1747. Mr. William Brodie has suggested that John of Windyhill was a natural brother of Alexander Brodie of Brodie, the Lord of Session, whose diary has been published by the Spalding Club. Alexander Brodie certainly refers to Windyhill as his brother. From the diary of James Brodie of Brodie, who continued that of his father, as from this Narrative, it is clear that the laird of Brodie was consulted, and took an interest in the marriage of Elizabeth Brodie with James Nimmo. She was certainly a relative of Brodie of Lethen, but what the precise degree of relationship was, I have been unable to discover.

In Mrs. Nimmo's own diary or narrative we have chiefly a minute account of her spiritual experiences. They seem to have been almost identical with those of her husband, but she was rather his superior in natural strength of mind and dignity of character. Her parents having conformed to the existing

state of things, she was admitted to the Communion by an Episcopal minister 'in their way.' She soon, however, discovered that 'their way' was a wrong one. 'I tried,' she writes, 'staying at home on the Lord's day, for when I went to church to hear the Prelatical ministry, though I did not observe anything unsound in their doctrine, yet one thing I found and observed, viz., that that day I went to Church I had no inclination to secret prayer, whereas the day I staid at home I found love to duty especially private prayer.' The effect of a bishop's sermon upon her is worth recording :—'One day hearing the Bishop preach I fell under great terror of mind ; I thought I could have given anything to have been out of church ; when I came home I could pray none but went about mourning and in great fear.'¹ Upon one Sunday, she gave way to a strange temptation. For a moment she was filled with that modern spirit of charity which seeks to discover good in those who differ from us. She actually prayed for those of her family who had gone to church—that in spite of unworthy instruments, the means of grace might be blessed to the hearers. But her mouth was at once stopped, and a deep conviction came upon her that she had asked God to countenance sin. She only found relief when she had vowed that if her tongue was restored to her she would never more pray for assistance to them.

The following extract may serve as an illustration of the extraordinary strictness with which Covenanters viewed the very slightest indulgence of levity of conduct, and of their equally strange superstition :—'I was afraid I had sinned the sin unto death. One Sabbath night when my trouble was very great there fell out a strong temptation to laughter in the family, and being overcome of it I was immediately challenged, though the challenge seemed to come from the Devil, "O says

¹ The extracts here given are from a copy of Mrs. Nimmo's Narrative, in which the spelling has been adapted to modern ideas.

the enemy, you have now sinned the sin unto death." I knew not how to go alone, and when I ventured I durst not bolt the door, and after I had lighted my candle, and had read half a side of a book in octavo, then the temptation came in sorely upon me that the room was full of devils to carry me to hell. I thought I had no comfort but the burning candle, and out it went without any visible cause, whereupon I thought I should have dropt down to the pit.'

The year 1679, which had witnessed Nimmo's brief military career, brought great distress to his future wife. The Militia of Moray were ordered South to suppress the insurrection, and her family seems to have been concerned in organising the force. 'That week,' she writes, 'they were making all ready for their going to the West. Oh! what a sad frame was my heart in. I could not pray a word. Next Sabbath was a sad day: the ark of God in the fields, my relations that should have been there, or bearing burden with them that had taken their lives in their hands, even they were strengthening the enemies by complying with them in sending out others.' But the defeat at Bothwell Brig was destined to bring about the meeting of Nimmo with Elizabeth Brodie.

In the same year she was also deeply distressed over the case of a friend who, having vowed that she would never marry a particular man, yet did marry him, 'and with a curate.'

Under date September 29th, 1680, Elizabeth gives us the following rather graphic account of the death of her father:—

'*September 29, 1680.*—The Lord removed my father by death at 11 at night.

'The night before we had been at Elgin, it being the time of a market. My father was taken up with his market affairs through the day. In the evening there came a weight on my spirit, so that I could be no company to any person. At length I went to prayer, under a great pressure of spirit, and in prayer I was often made to cry that the Lord would save

me from wrong thoughts of Him, by reason of any lot He would measure out for me in the world ; and I was put to say, let Him take His own way, only give me grace to construct aright of Him, and give clearer views of Himself to my soul. After prayer, I was much troubled about my father's being out in the night air, for he had been kept long by helping some friends to buy cattle. So when he came in from the market, I went to him and told him I was afraid he would be the worse of the night air. He said he would go into the house for a little to take some refreshment, as he had got nothing through the day. Sometime after, my eldest brother, he, and I, took horse (for my mother was to stay in Elgin that night with a friend who was not well), but when a little off he missed his servant, who was not come forward, therefore he desired my brother and me to go on, and he would ride back, which he did, and we moved very slowly on till he overtook us. When he came, we fell into very edifying converse the whole way ; when he came home, supper being on the table, he was not well, and would go to bed ; but my brother and I pressed him to stay supper, which he did, but ate none. After that he went to prayer in the family, and was most serious, for no person would have thought by hearing him that he was under any distemper, and all that saw him that day said they had never seen him look better, and more fresh in colour. When prayer was done, he went to bed, and each of us to our own rooms. When coming home I had resolved to spend part of that night in prayer, but after I went up stairs I could win at nothing, neither read nor pray, from an indisposition both of body and spirit, and so was forced to give it over. I came down stairs again a very little after he had gone to bed, and he, knowing my foot on the stair, called me and desired me to cast more clothes on him, which I did without speaking more, because I thought him sleepy, and being cold I went to the hall fire to warm myself, none being there but my sister Barbara. As

soon as I sat down I heard him give a heavy draught with his breath. I ran to get a candle lighted, and ere I entered his room he gave another. I found him lying in a cold sweat, and lifted him up, and when I found him continue in the faint, as I thought, I laid him on his back, but finding him no better, I lifted him up again. When rubbing vinegar upon him he gave a great draught, this made me hope he was recovering, but presently his head fell down on my neck ; then I put my hand to his pulses, but they were all gone, and when I put my hand to his heart I found no motion there. I was stupid, like a beast, and could not pray a word. I called for help, but no physician could be of use. Then my mother being from home, and the surprise she would meet with, was very heavy to me, for there was great affection betwixt them, and she was somewhat of a passionate temper. So we sent for her two brothers, who were to go to Elgin and tell her first, but a foolish servant without orders went to her before them, and told her rashly, saying if she came not quickly she would never see him in life. But there was much of the Lord's goodness to be seen in supporting her, and in meeking her spirit. To my great surprise, when I went to meet her she was coming betwixt her two brothers, with a very pleasant countenance, and asked me with a smile if the Lord's work was perfected. I told her it was. She only said, "Well, He can do nothing wrong who has done it." And when she entered the room where he lay, she fell down on her knees at the bedside, and blessed God for three things : (first) that she had such a yokefellow ; (second) that she had him so long ; (third) that He had now taken him in mercy. This was a most pleasant disappointment.'

A young lady of Elizabeth Brodie's disposition was not unlikely to give trouble to a family more worldly-minded than herself. 'My mother,' she writes, 'had been most severe upon me for several years because I had many offers of marriage, which looked well to the eyes of the world, but I had

not freedom to comply with, and now my father being dead I had fear of harsh treatment from a great part of my relations who were incensed against me.' James Nimmo could hardly have been looked upon by them as a suitable match, but he had influential friends, and doubtless by the time he appeared upon the scene her relations had begun to despair. They do not, at least, whatever was the cause, seem to have offered much opposition, and in her own opinion Nimmo was a 'person deserving and truly gracious.' Matters were arranged for them by a mutual friend, James Sutherland, who had apparently suggested her name to Nimmo, and afterwards communicated his proposal to the lady. Courtship, and even marriage, were far too trivial and earthly concerns to find more than a mere passing notice in a narrative devoted to the history of a soul's salvation and spiritual development, and Elizabeth Brodie touches but lightly upon them. The prospect of marriage does not seem to have affected her mind in quite so doleful a manner as it did that of her husband. But it can hardly have been a lively wedding. It was celebrated upon 4th December 1683 by the 'blessed Mr. Hog,' and both husband and wife give us some idea of how a covenanting divine improved such an occasion. 'When,' says Mrs. Nimmo, 'I was in the place where the ceremonial part of it was accomplished, the minister, Mr. Thos. Hog, spoke a while to the nature of the covenant betwixt Christ and Believers, which did greatly refresh my soul, and so much the more that he did make use of that Scripture, Isa. 54. 5. Much of God was in that meeting. The minister told us it was not present affections that would carry us through, but they behoved to be maintained by prayer as every piece of furniture the creature wants must come that way. O! I saw myself empty of all, also I saw a new necessity for going to Christ for all things. Then Satan was at me by presenting to me the impossibility of going on to the end.'

This marriage ceremony was performed probably at some personal risk to the bold and uncompromising minister whose memory has been cherished by Presbyterian Scotland. The newly married couple had to separate at once and live for some time apart, and Nimmo was soon to find even in Morayshire no safe retreat. In this district, remote as it was from the headquarters of the Privy Council, and having a landed gentry strongly sympathising with the nonconformists, the laws against them had not been strictly enforced. But this state of matters came to an end with the arrival of Mackenzie of Siddie, and his company of foot. He was to act the part of a local Claverhouse. A persecutor, Lord Doune, son of the Earl of Moray, had been heard to talk, over his wine, in an alarming manner of Nimmo, and the Brodies and other friends were anxious both for his and their own sakes to get him out of their country. He tells us, in his own terse but picturesque style, of a narrow escape from capture which he made by means of the friendly shelter of the old vaults of Pluscarden, and of his adventures in his flight to Edinburgh, where he arrived in safety upon 23d March 1683. Mrs. Nimmo remained in the North, busy as ever with the supreme concerns of her own soul. Upon April 30th she joined her husband in Edinburgh. She has recorded her unwillingness to leave Moray, and the reason she gives affords a curious illustration of the way in which she and her co-religionists insisted upon evidence of Divine permission before taking any step in life. Fortunately she had a rational adviser in Mr. Hog. ‘April 3d 1683,’ she writes, ‘I was called by outward providence to leave my own people and the place where I was brought up in, but was not willing to take my journey, because I had not particular clearness from the Lord, as I thought, and being pressed by outward providences I knew not what to do. But at length having converse with Mr. T. H. I told him my straits; he said “folks should be sober and not too peremptor in seeking light from Scripture to know the

Lord's mind. This might be my sin and a ready way to be deluded—for" said he, "Satan is very busy on such occasions in some cases, and moreover this seems not to be the season of access. But my practice is, first, I labour to have my mind brought to a balance that my affections have no sway to one thing more than another. Then I labour to believe that I have to do with an infinite God who searches the heart: and believing him to be such, I cry that He may make a right choice for me, and order this providence so that I may make a right choice. Then after I have with singleness committed the matter to the Lord, I take the most reasonable way of the two, and go on softly, crying: Lord, stop if Thou approve not—so, though I use the means, I wait for a stop, and so my dependance is still kept up."

From Edinburgh Mrs. Nimmo followed her husband—her 'friend,'¹ as she quaintly calls him—to Berwick-on-Tweed, which seems to have been a favourite hiding-place of the distressed Whigs. The following sentence in her narrative relating to this period illustrates in a pathetic manner the conflict between natural instincts and the awe-inspiring dogmas of her creed. The thought of maternity had been suggested to her mind. 'Oh!' she writes, 'what terrible views had I of a reprobate seed. I, as one in an ecstasy, was made to cry out—"elect seed or none! elect seed or none!"'

In Berwick their eldest child, a son named John, was born, upon 18th April 1684. I have been unable to discover the date of his death. He certainly survived his father, because his mother mentions him as being from home under date March 10th, 1711. So far as is known, the only members of this family who left descendants were the second son, James, and his sister Grizell, married to Mr. William Hogg. John was baptized by Mr. Thomas Hog, who, driven from Scotland

¹ The '*mon ami*' of the French (?).

by the Act of the Privy Council, came to cheer the Nimmos in their banishment at Berwick. But their position became more serious every day. Tidings of the arrest of friends in different parts of the country reached them. They had reason to believe that their presence in Berwick was known to, or at least suspected by, the authorities. At last came news of the imprisonment of Nimmo's father, a gentleman who up to this time had not apparently given any offence to the Government, and against whom the sole ground of suspicion seems to have been the fact that he had been in communication with his son. At the same time, the murder of two soldiers caused a renewed activity in the efforts made to secure Nimmo himself as the possible murderer. Clearly this country offered no longer any place of refuge. Accordingly he, accompanied by his wife and child, took ship for Rotterdam, where they landed after a ten days' passage over wintry seas.

He has recorded the narrow escape which he made from drowning while seeking to evade the revenue laws, shortly after his arrival in Holland. The narrative is perhaps not without its interest to the student of the history of morals. It is singular that a man, whose religious scruples are so abundantly evident, should not hesitate to engage in an attempt at smuggling. The accident by which he nearly lost his life is promptly recognised as a judgment, and the deliverance from death as an instance of Divine mercy—but this judgment is associated with some sin of unbelief, and not the faintest doubt seems to have crossed his mind as to the lawfulness of his conduct. But are there not places amongst the Highlands of Scotland where, even at the present day, stern Calvinists may be found quite friendly to the illicit still?

In Holland, as in Berwick, Nimmo and his wife found kind friends. Here were their spiritual guide, Mr. Hog, and 'honest Torwoodlie,' who, for his supposed concern in the

Ryehouse plot, had been accused of treason, and compelled to fly from Scotland. But even in Holland the fugitives were not absolutely safe. King James had sufficient influence to procure from time to time a search for the Scotch in hiding, although the Dutch authorities seem to have done their best to render it fruitless. A change in the policy at home induced Nimmo to return to this country, where he landed in April 1688, after a wonderfully short although stormy voyage. The revolution of that year for ever put an end to any danger in so far as personal safety was concerned, and henceforward his anxieties arose in connection with the question of how to maintain himself and his family. With their friends in power, the Whigs were not likely to be forgotten, and a small post was found for Nimmo in the Customs, which, apparently with some grumbling, he accepted. Henceforward his career becomes a very commonplace one. He engages in various commercial speculations, meeting at one time with success, and at another with loss. He enters into civic life and obtains the appointment of Treasurer of the city of Edinburgh. At the close of the Narrative we leave him contemplating the purchase of a landed estate and the joys of a country life.

The latest date mentioned in the Narrative is 1705. From his wife's diary we learn that the author died upon August 6th 1709. He seems to have suffered from bad health for some time prior to his death. In July 1705 Mrs. Nimmo thus quaintly and, I think, beautifully, expresses her thoughts in contemplation of his death: 'I ought to be thankful that ever the Lord gave me such a yokefellow. One that truly knows the Lord and whom the Lord has helped to walk like a Christian in all things. Surely this should make me submit to the will of my God when he pleases to part us, seeing we are to be for ever with the Lord. O what a cordial is this! that we shall have a comfortable meeting at the resurrection of the Just. Although one tide shall not bear us over, yet one vessel

c



shall land us in one harbour, viz. the Lord Jesus will carry us safely into his own land.'

She has given the following account of his last hours :—

' *August 6, 1709.*—The Lord removed to his eternal rest my precious yokefellow. He said, "My Lord seems to stand at a great distance, and as if He did not hear my prayer, but yet He heareth, for He is my God, my God is He; these thirty-three years He has made me seek and serve Him as my God and Father, and now, though He hide His face, I have no fear. I can say since my soul first closed with Him by saving faith, I lay not down one night but that I saw a need of Christ to wash me from guilt." This he said to a lady, and to others who came to see him. At another time he said to a gentleman, "Sir James, I have been a man of many troubles, but when I look back on them all, I cannot pitch upon one that I dare this say, I wish it had not come my way."

'His bodily sickness was so great that he was not in case to speak much, but, taking me by the hand, he said, "My dear, my dear, my sympathising wife" (he was pleased to say), "the Lord in mercy put us together, and He will in mercy part us, and it will not be long till you come where I am, even where Christ is!"'

The following is from his daughter's account :—

'When anyone asked him how he was, he said, "I am a ship at anchor, blow the wind as it will, I am safe, because I am on the rock, Christ; so, whether death or life, it is all one."

'That morning before he died he said, "It is a rough sea, but a smooth harbour, the landing is safe and sure." He told my mother he was made to observe a mercy he had not noticed before; that, though he had not much sensible joy, yet Satan had never got leave to tempt him with the least doubt of his interest in Christ. I heard him, when in extremity of pain,

cry out, "My God, help me. Thou seemest to shut out prayers, but I know Thou hearest, and wilt answer, for Thou wilt not make me ashamed of my hope, nor shall my expectation be cut off." He spake not much in his sickness, but all was the language of strong faith. His last words were: "My Lord is now on His way, my Lord is coming with deliverances."

THE DESCENDANTS OF JAMES NIMMO.

James Nimmo and his wife Elizabeth Brodie had a family of four sons and one daughter. These children were all born during the period embraced in their father's Narrative, and he records the death of two of them,¹ viz. Thomas and Alexander. I have, as already stated, been unable to ascertain the date of John's—the eldest son's—death. James, born at Rotterdam in November 1686, became, like his father, a member of the Edinburgh Town Council and Treasurer of the city. He also held the appointment of Cashier General of Excise. He was twice married. His first wife was the Honourable Mary Erskine (born 1690), a daughter of that Henry, Lord Cardross, referred to in the Narrative as a 'good friend.' Their family consisted of three sons and three daughters. Of the sons nothing is known,—they all probably died in early life. The eldest daughter and child, Catherine, the record of whose baptism is dated 1st January 1721, married her cousin David Erskine,² son of the Honourable Captain William Erskine, Deputy-Governor of Blackness Castle. Captain William was the brother-in-law of James Nimmo, and Catherine therefore married her own first cousin. They had no children. David Erskine died in 1769 and his wife in the following year.

¹ Narrative, pp. 98, 101.

² See *Douglas's Peerage*, Wood's Edition, under 'Cardross.'

Elizabeth, the second daughter of James Nimmo and Mary Erskine, married James Pringle of Bowland, Clerk of Session, who died in 1778, a grandson of the 'honest Torwoodlie' of the Narrative.¹ Their son succeeded, in 1780, his uncle George Pringle as Laird of Torwoodlee.

Margaret Mary, the youngest daughter, became, in 1755, the second wife of the Rev. John Gibson, minister of St. Ninian's in Stirlingshire, afterwards presented by the Crown to the living of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh. It was during his incumbency that the present church of St. Cuthbert's was built. By his wife, Margaret Mary Nimmo, Mr. Gibson had one son and three daughters. The three daughters were all married: Mary, the eldest, to John Dickson of Kilbucho and Hartree, Catherine to Major-General Lockhart, and Elizabeth to the Rev. John Lockhart, D.D., of the College Church, Glasgow. John Gibson Lockhart, the son-in-law of Sir Walter Scott, was a son of Dr. Lockhart and his wife Elizabeth Gibson. Thus the present representatives of the author of *Old Mortality* are the descendants of James Nimmo who fought at Bothwell Brig. The son, Archibald, who was a Writer to the Signet, married a granddaughter of Grizell Nimmo, and has left many descendants.

The Rev. Mr. Gibson died in 1785, but his wife survived until 1821, dying at the age of ninety-seven.

To return to James Nimmo. He married, for the second time, in 1743, the Lady Jane Hume, daughter of Alexander second Earl of Marchmont, and granddaughter of that Sir Patrick Hume whose concealment in the vault of Polwarth Church forms one of the most romantic incidents in the history of Covenanting times. During his confinement there, his daughter Grizell (afterwards Mrs. Baillie of Jerviswoode) went by night, not without fear of ghosts, to supply him with food,

¹ P. 87.

his hiding-place being kept secret from the other children and servants. 'Her father,' to quote Lady Murray's narrative, 'liked sheep's head, and while the children were eating their broth she had conveyed most of one into her lap. When her brother Sandy had done, he looked up with astonishment and said, "Mother, will you look at Grizzel; while we have been eating our broth, she has eat up the whole of the sheep's head": this occasioned so much mirth among them that her father at night was greatly entertained by it, and desired Sandy might have a share in the next.' Sandy was the father of Lady Jane Nimmo.

In Colonel Fergusson's interesting life of Henry Erskine, Lady Jane is mentioned as one of the 'honourable women' who gave a welcome to the English preacher Whitefield when he visited Scotland.

Among the papers preserved in my own family is the following short note from Lady Jane, written five years before her death, to her husband's niece, Mrs. Thomas Hogg. It had evidently accompanied some other document, and has possibly reference to the 'Narrative.'

Edinr., 7 June 1765.

DEAR MADAM,—It is now above six years since I sent some family manuscripts to your Mr. Hogg. I look upon him to be more the representative of his grandfather than any girl could be; as no woman cloathed with a husband must be called her own mistress.

The inclosed will tell you the reason of this trouble. I beg then, dear madam, you'll assure Mr. Hogg that he has a just title to keep these papers, not only from my free gift, but as that gift was in consequence of what I am sure would have been his uncle's will had he even appointed the disposal of them. For well do I know that nothing could have given Mr. Nimmo more pain than the thought of such writings ever falling into the hands of James Pringle or David Erskine.¹

¹ His sons-in-law.

Mr. Hogg's regard to his uncle's memory, and even that of his whole family, will dictate to him how to act without any instructions from me.—I remain, Dear Madam, with sincere esteem, your most humble Servant,

JANE NIMMO.

P.S.—The inclosed, together with this letter, may be kept if you think it necessary to prevent further trouble.

This letter, which, although short, conveys the impression that Lady Jane was a person of some strength of character, indicates, it will be observed, a strong dislike on her part to the husbands of her step-daughters, if not to these ladies themselves. A curious light is thrown upon the family quarrel disclosed in it by the report of a case contained in that storehouse of antiquarian and legal matter, Morrison's *Dictionary of Decisions*. At page 15,825, under the head 'Tenor,' we find the case of *Elizabeth and Margaret Mary Nimmo v. Andrew Sinclair*, from which I take the following facts: James Nimmo, as already stated, had married Lady Jane in 1743. Her marriage portion was £1000, secured to her by a bond of provision by her father the Earl of Marchmont, corroborated by her brother. In 1749, as Lady Jane had no prospect of children, she agreed to settle the greater part of her portion upon her husband's children, and did so by a deed, which was handed over to her husband. But she afterwards changed her mind, and having got the document back, put it into the fire in his presence. Nimmo died a bankrupt in 1758, his wife surviving until 1770. Upon her death it was found that she had left all that she possessed to a relative—Andrew Sinclair. But Elizabeth Nimmo (Mrs. Pringle) and her sister Margaret Mary (Mrs. Gibson)¹ were quite prepared to assert their rights. They accordingly brought an action of 'proving the tenor,' and were able to satisfy the Court that the destroyed deed had been an irrevocable conveyance.

¹ The action is reported under their maiden names.

Lady Jane had obviously been doubtful as to her own power to defeat the succession of these obnoxious step-daughters. In her repositories was found a memorial for counsel, in which she admitted having signed a paper, but could not remember whether it contained a power of revocation or not. But, fortunately for the pursuers, the Earl of Marchmont was able to recollect that the deed, which had been shown to him, although originally revocable, had been promptly rendered irrevocable by Lady Jane at his own suggestion. He further deponed that 'about three years after this, Mr. Nimmo, with much concern, had informed him that Lady Jane having on some pretence got the keys from him, had taken out the above assignation and had destroyed it.'

Grizell, the only daughter of James Nimmo and Elizabeth Brodie, seems to have inherited a double portion of her parents' spiritual doubts and fears. The style of her own narrative may be imagined from the sentence with which it opens: 'I was a blasphemer, but I obtained mercy.' At the age of five she could not sleep through fear of perdition. At six she was tempted with the heresy of imagining that her tender years would protect her from the doom of everlasting torments. But it was an age in which consistent Calvinism still existed, and she soon met with a teacher who assured her that her youth could form no excuse, as original sin was sufficient to damn her. By a not unnatural reaction she began to question the principles in which her parents were training her: 'I would gladly have been a Papist at this time. I seldom went to prayer but that word did run through my mind—"To the unknown God."'

But she became neither Papist nor Agnostic. She grew up and married a most worthy Presbyterian, Mr. William Hog or Hogg, only son of a certain Andrew Hogg, W.S., who had died about the end of the seventeenth century. William Hogg did not follow his father's profession, but became a merchant

and banker in Edinburgh. Neither he nor his son Thomas Hogg seems to have been very successful in business. A reference to both father and son will be found in Sir William Forbes' *Memoirs of a Banking House*. I have in my possession a letter, dated February 1732, from William Hogg, addressed to a 'very dear friend,' Mr. Thomas Boston, the well-known author of the *Fourfold State*, in which he announces his financial failure, and relates that his friends had been advising him to conceal his books and papers. 'I think,' writes the devout man, 'I got a look to the Lord with my soul when they were talking about this—a look above means and instruments to himself, and he will mitigate and moderate the Tryal.'

Probably Mr. Hogg had taken too gloomy a view of the situation. He seems at all events to have weathered this particular storm, and left a business subsequently carried on by his son Thomas.

Mrs. Grizell Hogg predeceased her husband, and he married again, his second wife being Jean, daughter of Charles Stuart of Dunearn, the representative of a well-known branch of the Moray family. Thomas was, I believe, the only child of William Hogg's first marriage who survived early life. He married, in 1757, Colina, daughter of Colin Campbell,¹ younger of Aberuchill and Kilbryde, by Catherine, daughter of William Nisbet of Dirleton, and grandniece of Sir John Nisbet—the well-known lawyer. Only two of Thomas Hogg's children have left descendants—viz. Grizell, who married Archibald Gibson, W.S., son of the Rev. John Gibson, and great-grandson of James Nimmo, and Elizabeth, who became the wife of her cousin William Scott-Moncrieff of Newhalls,² afterwards of Fossaway.

¹ He was a member of the Scottish bar, and died of consumption when quite young—predeceasing his father Sir James.

² Mr. Scott-Moncrieff's mother was a daughter of William Hogg by his second marriage with Jean Stuart.

From the above account it will be seen that there are now no representatives of James Nimmo in the male line, although his actual descendants are very numerous.

Since the above was sent to press, I have been enabled, through the kindness of Mr. Nimmo of Westbank, Falkirk, to examine a small ms. volume in his possession, containing a considerable amount of information relating to the Nimmos of Bridgehouse and their connections. This ms., which is in the handwriting of the late Mr. Nimmo of Westbank, consists mainly of extracts from what is described as 'a folio book of 236 pages, written by John Wardrop, banker in Edinburgh, and proprietor of Strathavon; born 1774.' Mr. Wardrop, who wrote about fifty years ago, was connected with the Nimmos of Bridgehouse, and he has evidently taken a considerable interest in bringing together materials which could throw light upon their family history.

He says: 'The tradition handed down is that they (the Nimmos) were French Protestants who fled from the horrid massacre of St. Bartholomew, anno 1572. This seems to be confirmed by the name, which in the earliest instances is spelt Nemot, which is clearly formed of the two French words *Ne Mot*, and also by the circumstance that, so far as I can find, the name does not occur in this country prior to that event.'

This is interesting, but I am afraid the tradition has but a slender foundation. James Nimmo certainly seems to have known nothing of it, although he probably carries his ancestry back to the date of the massacre. Mr. Wardrop has, however, discovered in connection with the testament of a certain Alexander Nimmo in Bathgate, who died in 1623, the name Bartelmo Nimo, to which he points as favouring his theory.

The earliest evidence of the name which he has found is

afforded by a charter from King James vi. in favour of David Nemo of Westbarns of Dunbar, dated 1581. In the beginning of the seventeenth century there were Nemos in Ayrshire.

Mr. Wardrop is of course familiar with the 'Narrative' of James Nimmo, and gives a summary of it, referring to a copy in the possession of the late Mr. David Laing, 'a quarto ms. volume of 160 pages, fully written, and bound up in calf with another ms. quarto work, and titled on the back, *Philocris and Nimmo's lives*, 18 Dec. 1826.'

It would appear that James Nimmo was survived by his father John, who was alive in 1712, aged ninety. Concerning John's two elder brothers, James of Westcraigs of Ogleface and Alexander of Wardlaw, Mr. Wardrop has little to say. He is uncertain whether or not Alexander left descendants. The Nimmos of Westbank are descended from a James Nimmo who came to Falkirk from Torphichen about two hundred years ago. That he was a son of either James or of Alexander is not improbable.

John Nimmo of Bridgehouse, as the 'Narrative' relates, settled that estate upon his son by a second marriage, William. Mr. Wardrop, whose elder brother was the proprietor of Bridgehouse, naturally bestows special attention upon the descendants of William. He, it would appear, was succeeded by a son of the same name, whose eldest daughter, the heiress of Bridgehouse, married John Wardrop, a member of an old Linlithgowshire family, and in this way did Bridgehouse become the property of the Wardrops. Mr. Wardrop has ascertained that between the years 1630 and 1756 eleven small properties in Linlithgowshire, and one in Stirlingshire, were acquired by various members of the Nimmo family.

My attention has been called, by means of Mr. Wardrop's ms., to a notice of James Nimmo, junior, and his wife, Lady

Jane, which will be found in the *Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntington*, an anonymous work, published some forty years ago. After what I have already stated concerning Lady Jane, it is perhaps only fair that I should quote the following estimate of her character: She 'was distinguished by a sound and cultivated understanding, by genuine and unostentatious piety, guided by good sense and discernment; by uniform mildness and equality of temper, and by those habitually cheerful and affectionate manners which commanded the esteem and respect of the society in which she lived, and were the perpetual delight of her own family.'

From Mr. Nimmo's house in Edinburgh Whitefield wrote, in 1750, to Lady Huntington: 'Your ladyship's health is drank and inquired after every day. Mr. Nimmo, who married Lord Marchmont's sister, has given me three franks, and his family are in the number of those who are left in Sardis, and have not defiled their garments.'

Those were the days of patrons, alike in the church and in the world. We find Lady Jane writing to her friend, Lady Huntington, in the following strain: 'Many prayers are offered up for your ladyship, and many blessings for your sending your chaplain to these parts . . . your ladyship will shortly have my native country to add to the brilliancy of that diadem which shall adorn your brow in the great day of the Lord.'

A short notice of the second James Nimmo will be found in the *Scots Magazine* for the year 1758.

MSS. OF THE NARRATIVE.

The text of the Narrative has been printed from a copy, very faithfully made by Mr. Mill of the Signet Library, of an old ms. in the possession of Mr. Pringle of Torwoodlee. This is doubtless in the handwriting of the author, and was

probably written shortly before his death in 1709. In thus recording the history of his past life, the author's memory was assisted by notes which he seems to have been in the habit of making, and part of which at least he had been able to preserve. Of this original ms. two pages have been lost, but their contents have been supplied from an old copy, evidently made by Mr. William Hogg, the author's son-in-law, and now in the possession of Archibald Gibson, Esq., Huntly Gardens, Glasgow.

In printing the Narrative it has been thought advisable to adhere to the peculiar and very erratic spelling of the original, and also to the contractions with which it abounds. Nimmo's spelling is certainly very bad, but it is characteristic of the seventeenth century. Witness, for example, the diary of Brodie of Brodie, who was a Lord of Session, and may be presumed to have had the best education which Scotland could offer. Nimmo's handwriting, on the other hand, is excellent, and wonderfully legible.

Extracts from this Narrative have been published from time to time. They will be found in the Appendix to Burns's edition of *Wodrow's Church History*, and in King's *Covenanters of the North*.¹ They have also more than once appeared in modern religious periodicals. But the complete story, exactly as told by the author, has never been previously published.

I desire to express my thanks to the following gentlemen—J. Pringle, Esq. of Torwoodlee, for the permission to make use of the original ms.; Archibald Gibson, Esq., for the loan of copies; the Rev. J. M. Johnstone, Torphichen, for information relating to that parish; and William Brodie, Esq., Eastbourne, who most kindly supplied me with a copy of his *Genealogy of the Brodie Family*.

¹ In Howie's *Scots Worthies*, J—s N—o and E—h B—e, his spouse, are mentioned amongst the spiritual trophies of Mr. Thomas Hog.

I am also much indebted to certain notes prepared by the late Mr. Dickson of Hartree, Professor of Botany in the University of Edinburgh. They were handed to me by Mr. Dickson very shortly before his lamented and unexpected death.

THE NARRATIVE



NARRATIVE OF
MR. JAMES NIMMO
A COVENANTER

JOHN NIMMO off Midlridg, in Bathgat paroch, had ane sone, called John Nimmo of Bridghous, who had three sones and four doughters, all respectfully married neer th^t place. James, Alex^r, & John, Christan, Agnes, Helen & Marion. James was propriator of a p^t of Westcraiges of Oglface, in th^t paroch of Torphichin q^r they wer all born. Alex^r was propriator of Wardlaw. Ther mother died shortlie after she brought furth her third sone John. She was a doughter of Kilikanties, and ther father married a second wife, by q^m hee had a son & severall doughters. The two eldest sones being provided it was s^d by him he wold give the Bridghouse to his third sone John, but altered his minde & gave it to the sone of the 2^d mariag W^m who is yet heritor of the same, & so John was disappointed & putt of w^t a small matter. And being born in Janwarie 1622 & now comed to some yeares he takes a ferm neer th^t place, and the 27th of May 1648 was married to Janet Muire, whoes parents wer cussing germane comed by ther father side of a second son of the hous of Rouallan, & by the mother of Comis^r Forsythe the Comiss^r of Glasgow, who was married on a daughter of Orbistoun.

John Nimmo & the s^d Janet had only three children, the eldest, a doughter, died a child, the second Elizabeth, born in Janrij 1652, the third James in July 1654, who wrytes this for his oun satisfaction to keep in some remembrance the Lord's way dealing & kindnes towards me, who being my parents only sone gott the more libertie qⁿ a childe q^{ch} streanthned th^t root of all bitternes (originall sin & a body of sin & death wⁱⁿ

flowing therfrom) which being strong of itselfe caried me head long to sin & folly, the Diuel leading captive att his pleasure.

Though qⁿ I came to ryper youthful yeares, shame w^t respect to comon honestie hedged me in at sometimes in some things. Yet at other times sin overflowing all bankes, and I had litle patron of trew pietie to curbe me in so th^t I stood nott much to curse, swear, & take the Lord's name in vaine, break Sabbothes & play att sinfull games. My father indead did putt me early to schoole, th^t I might learn, and though I was someq^t dull in learning, yet the Lord was not wanting in giving me some natural sagacetic & judgment both to be at some paines to learn and have some natural discretton towards others, & to imitat others w^t some suitablnes to q^t I perceaved to be th^r inclination, & to learne a pairt of q^t I did see others doeing and began to forbear att leanth thos grosser practises I was given unto, & began to seek acquaintance of the more sober, & th^rin had ane high esteame of my self, q^{ch} begot some mor refindnes & discretion in my cariadg, q^{ch} grew only from th^t root of pryde to be esteemed off oth^{rs} of my eqwals & superiors also. And thos th^t followed me w^t fairnes & aplaus could comand me in aney thing; but cross & discomend me, then the verie venom of Hell & nature of Sathan apeared to ane extreame. And now coming to about thirtin yeares of Age in the sumer 1667 th^r fell out some difference betwixt my father & scholmaster so th^t I left the schol at Bathgat (for my father was thⁿ living att Boghall), and albeit the M^r dealt w^t severall persones of most nott in th^t place to perswad my father to send me back, yet he being naturally stiffe, th^r was no prevailling in th^t matter; so neer the end off th^t year my father takes me to Sterling about fourtin myles from thence, which is the first providence I observe, for if my father had not bein disbleidged by the M^r I had not been takn to Sterling, which was much for my advantadg, for it was partlie my father's pride took me th^r & also keep me th^r for some more as three yeares, wher I was weel takn caire of, being boarded in the M^r his oun hous, whos wife & my mother wer cussing germans, she being a daughter off¹ Ro^t Livingstounes of Wester Green-

¹ In the letters of intercommuning, August 6, 1675, the name of William Livingstone of Greenyards appears as that of a person who had been put to the horn at Stirling in July 1674.

years wⁱⁿ two myles th^{off}. And th^r I learned my gramer & had occation of mor breading then I might have had att home, & sharpned my natur a litle, being among strangers q^r I knew I wold be more notticed in my way of cariadg. And ther I mad it more my work to pleas oth^{rs} then benefit my self at my book. But was very virtuously inclined and wrot to some gentlemens' sones ther lessons, to gain some money of q^{ch} I was a good husband when gotten, onlie I was not able to bear the least shaddow of affront, then led oftⁿ to beatt oth^{rs} q^{ch} oftⁿ brought home such as I gave. Therfor frequentlie whipt for fighting until I began to think shame to be whipt and began to aime at more manliness, but all this time few thoughts of God, or off my soul, or a life after this. Yet I could not want my prayers (as they wer) at goeing to bed & rising th^r-from, for till I came heir had seen nothing of aiming at secret prayer, & only heir also by the M^r who indeed neglected it not, who seemd to have some seriousnes; but much of a form in publick prayer.

Yet tho I was utterlie ignorant of God thⁿ, I cannot but observe some remarkabl steps of the Lord's restraining grace and preventing marcie, for q^{ch} throu grace I will desire to bliss him thorow time & eternatie. On was th^r was someq^t sinfull I had a desire after, q^{ch} I think the Divel laboured in and brought the tentation fairlie to offer it selfe, but suddanlie it did pleas the marcifull Lord to begett in my minde ane abhorrance of the thing, & helped so to resist w^t courradg as if I had never had the least desire th^t way.

O a good God even to thes in a state off enmitie against him, th^t hee should condescend so farr to keep back from sines might be heavie on our conscience all our dayes. I had maney remarkable steps off temptationes & marcifull deliverances in this place, being guided by a marciful God tho I knew him not. Nor was tender of his glory nor of my oun good, but kept by meer free preventing marcie & restraining grace. And I cannot omit to observe, th^t qⁿ the divel missed his mark in the above s^d first tentation, he failled not to continow in six or seven new assaults upon me each after other (in my last year of my stayeng ther) in a new disguise, yet still the marciful Lord aither restrained or prevented. Att q^{ch} to this

day I ame made to wonder & admire his goodnes qⁿ I reflect th^rupon.

And the Lord gave me favour both w^t M^r & Mistris & condiscipulis and others.

And now coming to be about seventin yeares of age 1671, being not resolved to follow my book I began to think of some other way for bestouing my selfe in some imployment or oth^r, and att leanth by Greenyard's & my father's advice & consent it was resoved upon to bind me w^t a relation on Mathow Cuming, mer^t in Glasgow, but qⁿ this by all rational meanes was assayed & we went th^r, this by a verie small matter misgave and my father called me home to himselfe, and then the Dutch warr¹ falling out with England he had no will to lett me goe abroad, in q^{ch} I think the marcifull hand of God may be seen by considering his tract of providences towards me sinse.

But tho I was come home yet I had no intent to stay, but my inclination was much to aply myselfe some other way. And my father having gott me home began to leave off thoughts of letting me goe more from him, being his only sone & having considerabl affaires a doe, & treated me rather as a servant then a sone, which begott much discouragement in me (not knowing q^t it was to seek to be reconceiled to the Lord's will in his providence) q^{ch} my father perceaving was resolved to use authoretie q^{ch} was not pleasing to me, & increassed my thoghtines. And albeit I did more to pleas him then my bodie could weel indure, yet becaus it was not done w^t th^t chearfulness he became verie teart to me in quarreling w^t almost all I did.

And he being oft att Edinburgh about law affaires I did q^t I could to manadg affaires in his absence so as I might gain his favour. And began now (as not seeing hou I could doe oth^r-wayes) to lay aside my thoghts of going elsq^r, tho I could not gett my minde brought to a complaciencie thrin.

As also I began to be asheamed that, seeing my father went about famely worship qⁿ att home, th^t I did it not in his absence, espetially seeing I had bein so longe at schol, which proceeded not from aney fear of God but pride of heart &

¹ War had broken out between the two countries in 1667. Such a war must have peculiarly affected the commercial interests of Scotland.

selfe, qⁿ I thought q^t if I should be afronted by not doing it to the aprobaton of the famely, & for th^t I resolved on a forme I had collected, not th^t I wold stent my selfe th^to but to be as a refuge in caise oth^rwayes straitned, which method I did sete upon & the first night fell to sing the 119 Psal. 9 v. by what means shall a young man learn, &c., so continouing to doe this in his absence for some time as I could, & he getting nottice of it at his return, desired me sometimes also qⁿ he was present, q^{ch} att the beginning brought me new feares to doe it befor him, yet continouing at his desire sometimes to doe soe, it became mor easie; but heirin apearèd the wonderfull goodnes of God, for sometimes then in famelie prayer th^t came sundrie expressions in my minde & lipes I had not formerlie notticed. The q^{ch} coming unexpectedlie, atended w^t some discoverie of the meaning th^of, made me fear, observing I was prayeng otherwayes then I was practising, in q^{ch} if I continoued seemed to be a mocking of God.

And I was convinced q^t came in my minde to express in time of prayer agreeabl to the Lord's word it was my dewtie to walk in my conversation conform.

And about th^t time the ordinarie of our reading in the word fell to be in the proverbs, q^rin was held out maney Instructiones, & I was convinced it was my pairt to practise them. The q^{ch} begott some concernednes in my minde, q^{ch} w^t the outward troubl I was under begot some thoughts of death & a life to come th^rafter. And about the beginning of Janrij 1676 I fell into a feaver & was sore afflicted in bodie for some days in heavie sicknes. And at q^{ch} time also my father was lyeng sick. And M^r W^m Chrichton ¹ (who was our outted minister) coming to see him, I had also the favor of his visit, who after talking a litle w^t me & finding my words someq^t concerned lyke (q^{ch} came as I s^d befor) he took occation to speak yet more—telling me q^t a miserabl state we wer in by natur, & th^t Christ was offering salvation upon repentance & that we wer called to comè as it wer upon the Leges of faith under the sence of our con-

¹ Mr. William Crichton, minister of Bathgate, was ordained in 1654, and removed from Bathgate by order of the Synod in 1660. After the revolution he was translated to Falkirk, and finally to the Tron Church of Edinburgh in 1695, dying in 1708 at the age of 78. *Vide* Scott, *Eccles. Fasti*.

dition, the q^{ch} if we wer seriouslie aiming at he wold assist & undertake for us & teach us our dewtie, the which had some impressones upon my minde ; & qⁿ I atained some recoverie, I remembered th^r was eight dayes in my sicknes I had never had so much as a serious thoght of God, q^{ch} made me fear somq^t to walke so cairleslie qⁿ I had recovered some health, considering sicknes was not a fitt time to repent in, having much a doe w^t it selfe ; the q^{ch} consideration w^t some others made me somq^t more delight in dewtie seeing such a necassatie ; and on night being in prayer in the famelie, & some thoghts of my soules hazerd coming in my minde, I wan fullie to belive th^t it was possible w^t God to chaing me from my ivel course by natur & make me delight in doing his will. The q^{ch} made me someq^t serious in pleading w^t him not onlie then but at severall times for q^t then I wan to belive, and I hapned to read th^t 55 Isay 6 & 7 seek the Lord whill he is to be found, call ye upon him while hee is neer. Let the wicked forsake his way & the unrightious man his thoughts, & lett him return unto the Lord, &c. q^{ch} was the first scriptur I gott aney walding light into as a invitation. Shortlie after ther was two lustie servants in the famelie wer cutt off in a few dayes in a flux, q^{ch} had its own waight in pairt. And to suplie on of th^r places ther was a woman serv^t hyred that had bein cast out of her service by sicknes about eight myles distant, q^{ch} we had never known befor, but seemd to be under somq^t of the exorcise of minde as to her soules caise if not trewlie gracious, & on night after she had bein retired I did observe by her countenance she had bein weeping sore (her name was Janet Thomson) the q^{ch} being observed by me made me sore discourradged, considering & being in pairt convinced th^t I was on of the cheaffest of sinners & yet had never win to weep so for sin ; & went & desired to attaine this frame of tendernes but could not, q^{ch} increased my sorrow, being convinced I was lost & undone eternalie if I wan not to repentance, q^{ch} I thought consisted much in getting my heart to melt in teares befor th^t God q^m I had sinned against & whoes lawes I had transgressed, but I was still bound up & my heart hard & darknes upon my minde & in a sore tossed condition, under feares of wreath. And a remarkabl providense fell out at this time, q^{ch} hightned my sorrow. For two young men th^t

wer servants to my father, th^t had intised me to play w^t th^m at games on the saboth dayes, the on went away & was maried some time befor this & about this time fell into a high fever & in the readg th^rof dyed in a maner distracted. And the other was left to fall two times in furnication in the famely, and now I was the third th^t joyned in th^t sinfull breach of the Lord's day & might expect the nixt stroak & knew not q^t it might be, q^{ch} greatly increassed my troubl, & did see the Lord just, who wold not acquit the guiltie, when we knew first th^t the last man had fallen the second time w^t a servant in the famelie, I spock to my father w^t all the discretion I could, & told him I feared the Lord might justlie contend w^t him & the famelie for this sin comitted in it, becaus he had not putt away his man qⁿ he fell first. He was angrie w^t me & said he putt away the first woman & seperat th^m, I said I fear ye should not have keep the man but in th^t way testified your displeasur at the sin, as also if we had bein more earnest w^t the Lord formerly to deliver the famelie from sin, hee might have prevented it, & also we was not humbled for the first as we ought. Now I desired to mourn befor the Lord whom I had offended, but att last could not gett so much as on word to speak in prayer in maney atempts & still seeing for some considerabl time (as I thoght) the wreath of ane angrie God readie to fall doun upon me suddanlie, if I wan not to th^t frame of prayer and suplication in teares, as the serv^t had win to q^{ch} I thoght was requisit, the q^{ch} being not only wanting but th^t I could pray non, I fell into such dreadfull terrors th^t was insuportabl, apprehending it could not consist w^t the justice of God but th^t the earth should open & swallow me up to hell quwick, for all this time I was utterly ignorant of th^t blist contrivance of salvation by the merites of the Lord Jesus Christ. Some nights th^r after M^r James Donaldson¹ ane outted minister was att Whytlaw, about halfe a myll distance, who was to excercise privatlie, to q^{ch} place tho mightie low in my bodey & unfitt for travel I went not w^tout stress. And ther ordinar in reading fell to be in the first Sam. & 23, wher he spock how David severall times sought counsel of the Lord what to doe, and its

¹ Probably the Nonconformist minister of Dolphington.

still sd the Lord answered him, & so he held out th^t as David then sought counsell so ought we still in everie thing we are concerned in; and altho the Lord did not ans^r now by any audible voice, yet to them th^t could win singlie & seriouslie to seek him for counsell, he could bear home w^t clear & convincing efficacie upon ther spirites the ans^r of th^r requestes & make th^m as firmly to believe it as if hee spock w^t any audibl voice, the q^{ch} expressions being so evidentlie cleared from the word I thought belonged to my cause & made to believe it was so, And th^t th^r was ground for me yet to plead w^t the Lord. So returning home some more settled in minde I began againe to seek him by prayer, and some nights th^rafter being in great distress & straitnednes in my minde & lyke to sinck it pleased the Lord pourfully to darte in th^t scriptur Math: 9 & 2^d qⁿ the man sick of the palsie was brought to him & was born & could not goe, Christ s^d, some be of good cheer thy sins be forgiven thee.

Which was made verie suitabl to my cause th^t I could doe nothing for my selfe more thⁿ the poor man in the palsie. And then gott some vew of the blis covenant of Redemption, and it came w^t such efficacie th^t all my discouragements wer gon and my fears of wreath gon, and intimations of his free love & pardon made known w^t much light, life & unexpressibl sweetnes & joy in my soul, so th^t then I wan to much freedom admeering the freenes & richnes of his grace & mercie so th^t I could never express q^t thⁿ I found, but made to praise again & againe & rejoyce in him, & thought ther was not any in th^t cause but my selfe & thought I could not live long; and then being supplid w^t secret strength and light from himselfe I wan step & stepe still to see more and more of my own vilnes, & made to abhorre & detest myselfe becaus of sin, but still made to exalt him for owning such a miserabl wretch as I was, and wan more & more to see my own wants & plead for suply from him, & sweetlie made to believe th^t he heird my requestes & sensablie ansrd the same, & made my heart delight in his law & in all his wayes & blis him th^t I was not cast in hell long since, yea altho he should yet cast me th^r I had ground to justifie him, considering my deservings, & love him for q^t hee had done to my soul and

maney a sweet blaink of his favor in prayer & meditation was I trysted w^t; & w^t strong resolutions coming in my mind to be for him & being unexpresabli suported in this way I continued so for a time, but at leanth Sathan & my ivel heart combining together, dewtie grew some more lifless & formall, and I began too much to idolise q^t I had atained & look too much to my oun streanth, and vilifieing my cariadg befor the time I wan to aney thing of the light & knouledg of spiritual thinges thinking I was a great fool th^t might not sooner a sought the Lord, thinking too much th^t I might have done more in my oun streanth not singlie considering the whol work was of God. And thinking albeit I wer castn back as I had been in my former securetie I was so much perswaded off the advantages of godlines & did see so much of reason for it th^t by my oun streanth I could doe better thⁿ befor. The q^{ch} thoghts provoked the Lord to w^ddraw more from me th^t so I grew more formall in dewtie but to less satisfaction in my soul. Then I began to reason w^t my selfe th^t I had both read & heard th^t the godlie got not alwayes feasts in dewty and manefestations of his love & intimationes of his kindnes, but most satisfie th^m selves w^t smaller thinges & be doeing as they could & not troubl themselves too much to winn at thes thinges, but grouing for a time mor & mor formal and secure till att lenth conscience awaknes & began to tell me my follie th^t I had provoked the Lord; & then feares, despondencie & discurradgment brock in, & sathan & my corruptions & ivel heart being desperatlie wicked of it selfe strove to crush me & all I had atained of peace by terrors, feares & discurradgments; & Satan oftn sayeing it was follie to stand out & casting subtile snares in my way, oft sayeing it wer more wisdom to take some pleasur in sin then by vexing my selfe in seeking after th^t q^{ch} I was not able to accomplish, viz. to be caried up in the life of godlines in the constant sens of his kindnes, the q^{ch} assaults made me to have maney a sad & sorroufull day. But yet it pleased the Lord to keepe someq^t of the faith of q^t I had formerly gottn, q^{ch} made me still th^t I durst not give my consent to sin altho it oftn prevailed, but I fand still ane hatred of it in my heart & seeing it vexed me so sore I often wished to be dissolved th^t I might return to my earth again.

But altho it pleased the Lord by secret streanth to keep me from yelding to the devisses of Satan & my evil heart, in concluding I wold not be abl to attain q^t I was seeking, yet they prevailed to lay maney a sore strock upon me by stirring up enemies against me both w^tout & w^tin, th^t made me maney a day goe in sorrow & teares, & my life even sometimes bitter, which made bystanders to admire q^t it was th^t troubled me (for I had not one I could be free w^t or impairt my caise unto). And friends and relations considering they had heard of my father's teartnes to me (tho at this time his way w^t me was become some more pleasant), thought it was the whol cause of my troubl, therfor sundrie of th^m had spock to my father th^ranent, but he apprehending I had compleaned to th^m came home exceedinglie offended att me and threatned to putt me out of his famelie, and s^d he should give me cause to be cast down and complean. I told him w^t sorrow I had compleaned to non, but this did not take w^t him, but his anger continoued, so th^t my life through thes things became my burthin & was made bitter unto me, & the more I was cast down the mor his anger was incressed, and speaking sometimes so sharplie to me as I was not able to bear, but being under so maney pressures sometimes made too teart ane reply, q^{ch} gave both Satan & him mor ground to work upon, albeit for most pairt, I did q^t I could to gain my father both by my words & actiones, & some times opned my grieff in prayer to the Lord.

So being sorlie exorcised in this caise about a year & mor, th^t albeit I some times attained more comfort & peace then at other times, yet my bodie was sore brockn and could but darklie winn to aney knoedg of my caise in my oun minde, & oftn nothing but darknes. And few or non discerned aney thing of my troubl, and had non to impairt my grieff unto but the servant, & sometimes the opertunetie to meet w^t some to whom I thought I could willinglie have impaired my minde, but several wayes restraind pairtlie through shame & fear, thinking non so vile for sine, non such abusers of marcies; and sometimes did apprehend th^t some I had occation with had a greater desire to pry into my caise thⁿ to simpathis w^t me, which thoghts w^t slavish fear & discurradgments made me oftn silent, and the mor hightned my sorrow.

Now about the Moneth of Junij 1677 th^r was to be a Randevouz of our Militia troupe, and upon the same day it was to be upon, some Ministers had apoynted a publick ffast in the feilds, wherat I was desirous to be. But being formerly for some time the ryder of the militia horse keep by my father (as Bailie & factor for Boghall) he was against my going to s^d fast, but I accidentalie meeting w^t ane old servant of my fathers and telling him I was unwilling to goe to the Randevouz, having a resolution to goe somq^r els, he offered for some consideration to goe for me, q^{ch} I easelie consented to; but my father was displeased, fearing the other man wold spoile the horse, but I was intent & went to the ffast.

And M^r W^m Gilkrist¹ on off the Ministers did preface upon the fourtieth of Gen. 5 v. anent Joseph and his brotherin, how his brothers wer pressing th^r father Jacob to send Benjamin th^r younger brother to Joseph, becaus he had s^d ye shall not see my face except ye bring yo^r brother w^t yow.

And so the Minister s^d th^t if we did desire to see the Lord's face, th^t day we behoved to bring Christ our brother w^t us; for the Lord was saying no less to us this day thⁿ Joseph did to his brethren, ye shall not see my face except yor brother Jesus be w^t yow, the qth did stick to me; but the word of a pairtie of the enemies coming, the meeting was dissolved, tho it was a mistake, some only having seen a pairtie of the militia going to th^r Randevouz. So being dismissed & I coming home, the nixt day being in the feilds my alon & my bibl w^t me, and my heart being afected w^t the preface the former day, I was reading th^r scriptur again, att q^{ch} time in the reading th^rof the Lord brak into my soul w^t such light, life & joy, in the discoverie of Christ, God man & mediator, in q^m the father was weel pleased & no acceptance w^tout him. And Christ intimating yow belive in God belive in me also, by q^m & throuh whoes merites ye cane only find access & acceptance. Now heir I most observe th^t in all my former troubl & out gate I still wanted th^t free & full discovery of Christ in his natur & offices, & particularlie as our brother and only mediator.

¹ Probably the gentleman who in 1677 was ordered by the Council to be brought to Edinburgh as a prisoner, because he had taken possession of the kirk, manse, and glebe of Carsphairn after the indulged minister's death.

Now upon this sweet discoverie off Christ, mor tenderly affected to his thⁿ Joseph to his brethren qⁿ he could not contain himself but made all to goe out & cryed out w^t the greatest evidence of affection, Gen. 45 & 4. I aime Joseph your brother q^m ye sold, & in the 5th vers, now th^rfor be not grived nor angrie w^t yo^rselves th^t ye sold me hither, for God did send me befor you to preserve life. O how sweet was this comfortabl type & Christ th^rin w^t respect to my caise. So th^t all my former greiffes, sorroues & discurradgments wer now removed. And he brought me as it wer out of a fearfull pitt & from the myrie clay, & sett my feet upon a rocke.

So th^t now I was made exceedingly to rejoyse, & to weep & rejoyse & weep & rejoyse againe, & w^t much refreshing sweetnesses upon my soul made to praise & bliss his name who had made the dark cloudes & shaddoues to flee away, and had brockn in w^t his marvelous light again upon my soul, w^t mor gladnes then hee had given me the whol world.

So th^t in maney things this was as a second law work & conversion or clearer light & confirmation. From this time untill the year 1679 I was sometimes under great refreshings in dewtie, much abstracting my selfe from occations of carnal & worldlie converse, & much delighting in solitarines & meditation, & att some times wan too much neernes w^t the Lord in prayer, & alwayes desirous to keep a conscience voide of offences towards God & man. And sometimes through the preevailings of a bodie of sin & death, redacted to dark cloudes & under sore troubles in my soul, but never continued so long as before related but often in a fighting condition, sometimes sin prevailing & sometimes he made his grace in me to prevaile. But alwayes discovered to me sooner or later th^t everie step of my condition was for my advantadg & nothing I mett w^t could be wanting.

Albeit all I attained unto had often enough to doe, & even sometimes lyke to give over.

Now in the beginning of Junij this year 1679, Clavers w^t his troupe coming against a feild meitting of the oprest presbyterians on a saboth day, the peopl being still in feares, severals went to the meeting in th^r armes in caise off atacks reather to defend th^mselves then be taken & aither hangd or banished as slaves, did upon the enemies approach goe out to defend them-

selves q^r severales of the enemies wer killed,¹ & so the men wer necessatit to keep in armes for th^r defence, & freinds from severall places coming for th^r aide they increased to some thousands, & resolved if possibl to free th^mselves of th^r heavie bondadg; & I haveng resolved when the Lord intimatted marcie to my soul, th^t if ever the Lord called for service at my hand I wold venture my all for him, & seeing th^t the pairty now in armes ouned to be for the Lord's cause, I judged myselfe obliged to oun & asist th^m, & accordinglie went w^tout any discountin-
ance from my father, who by this time was become much mor kindlie to me.

But qⁿ I came I was not halfe ane hour th^r untill I feared the Lord was not w^t th^m seeing no Authoretie in discipline, & being ten dayes w^t th^m I observed I could never gett liberty in secret, q^{ch} made me w^t other thinges fear the ishw, percaving much deviation among thos th^t should have guided the rest; houeever upon Junij 22d we was brock by the enemy & wholly disperst & maney killed & taken, my selfe by the marcifull hand of God saffie brought off tho for sometime was in the place of greates danger & a cannon ball kild a horse under a man hard by me, & oft hes th^t word been sweet to me th^t hee was a cover to me in the day off battel, so I stayed hidnly some times in on place some times in ane other in much hazerd. About three dayes after we wer brocke, ane alarome came q^r I was th^t a pairtie of the enemy was coming, it being in the night time I was made to rise & goe to a corn feild & hide my selfe q^r in the morning getting my selfe somq^t composed desired to adress my self to the Lord by prayer; & th^rin hee fully did satisfie my mind^e th^t we wer brock & th^t it was not yet time nor we wer meet for deliverance, & considering the deviationes was amongst th^m, made to bliss the Lord we wer brock rather th^r qⁿ we should have destroyed on ane other.

¹ This event so lightly touched upon by our author was the skirmish of Drumclog, fought on a moor near Loudounhill. The Covenanters had met to listen to the exhortations of Mr. Thomas Douglas. Claverhouse seems to have been entirely defeated, and the prisoners in his possession were rescued. Only three weeks elapsed between this event and the battle of Bothwell Bridge on June 22, 1679. Nimmo quite confirms the accounts which Wodrow and others have given of the divisions which arose in the Covenanters' camp during the brief period of their unexpected success.

I¹ was oft made to ly in cold barnes th^t winter th^rafter, yet injoyed much pleasant qwayetnes in my minde tho cold & bad dyet & not timlie did affect my bodie, & in the spring th^rafter I used to come home early & direct my father's servants to th^r worke & retire againe to the feilds, haveing still a watchfull eye & under fear of the enemie, & at night went to some retired place & lay sometimes in on barn & sometimes in ane other, & on night laying down in a litle barn belongd to ane old honest servant of my father's I fand my self verie wearie & my bodie distrest, and therfor resolved th^t if it pleased the Lord to give me rest I wold ly a whyle longer thⁿ my ordinar nixt morning q^{ch} I did & was a marcifull providence, for the old servant being att the head of his oun yeard q^r he could easelie see my father's hous, coming in by the end of his barn mett his wiffe & sayes to her (so as I heard) alas for I fear James is takn for th^r is a pairtie of horsemen lighted on his father's green, for the servant knew not but I was gone earlie as I used. The q^{ch} I hearing imediatlie rose & came out, q^{ch} made th^m glade so I casting of my coat putt on a coatter man's & went to a moss hard by & wrought among peats I know not for q^m, & the enemie came by & by again after they had missed me & rifled my father's hous. So they past and repast to severall houses by the moss in my vew & I bussie working in the cotter man's coat, & so they missed me, att q^{ch} I was glad & desired to bliss the Lord for inclining me to ly so long in bed and determining q^r to goe & work for my saftie qⁿ I arose, & tho they gott some of my clothes q^{ch} they took w^t th^m yet they missed the substance.

And now being still in hazerd & the storme not lyke to abaite I inclynd to goe abroad q^r I might not be in th^t constant danger of my life. And after maney thoughts still uncertain for a time q^r to goe, sometimes desiring of the Lord direction and some times consulting freinds, yet still in the darke. Att lenth I went on day to see Mr Hugh Kennedy² ane outted mini^r lived w^{tin} a quarter of a myle, and told him someq^t of my minde anent this, who after a litle silence & turning his

¹ His share in this insurrection rendered Nimmo an outlaw.

² The 'outted' minister of Midcalder—he survived the Revolution.

back to me w^t his hand on his breast s^d to me, I will not desire yow to doe aney thing not knoing q^t events may be, but if I wer in yo^r caise I wold try a litle time abroad. The q^{ch} made me a litl more determined to goe. And w^t q^{ch} I acquainted my father who apearred willing. Therfor w^tout much acquainting of freinds, finding th^t th^r was ane occation going for Holland, I resolved to goe ther; and consulting with the mate of s^d shipe, sent my cloathes to his hous, for we durst not let the scipper kno, & the mate was both my relation & the scipper's, & desired to know qⁿ they intended to saile, who sent me word qⁿ, q^{ch} was Aug. 19th 1680, the q^{ch} day after taking leave of my parents only, I went th^r w^t full resolution (if the Lord wold) to goe for Holland, but qⁿ I came th^r the winde did not serve to saile.

And being th^t day disapoynted I minded M^r W^m Chrichton our outted minister, q^m I saw att M^r Kennadies some few dayes befor, had s^d he wold desire half ane hour of me at his chamber att Ballancreeff. And thocht now I might goe to him from Borroustounness.

And accordingle went & finding qⁿ I came the Ladey & him sitting togither in the Hall, and after a litle conference the s^d M^r Chrichton was obleidged to goe to on th^t called for him, upon q^{ch} the Ladey Balncreife thⁿ Ladey¹ Park Hay, desired I might goe north w^t her husband. Then I frelie told her my former resolution and th^t if yett I could doe better & gott freedom was content to alter my course. She thⁿ raising some objections against my former resolution, & told me her husband was att Edb^h and wold she hoped be att home th^t night & was imediatelie to goe to Murrayland.² I told she knew not if her husband wold think it convenient, but lett her & the Laird advise till the morroues night & I should do the lyke, & if the Lord inclyned us both to th^t I should acquiess, q^{ch} we left thⁿ att & nixt evening I came again & the Laird was comd & seemd most willing, & w^tall told he was to chaing his chamberland in the North & iff I wold ingadg he wold be verie glade of it. I s^d I was content to goe & doe th^t service to him I could

¹ 'Lady' in the old Scottish sense. The Hays of Park, who were Nimmo's friends, had no title.

² That is, Morayshire.

for a time, becaus I was not knoun in th^t place, wherof he was content being to goe th^r personalie himselve.

Now all this time tho seeking and acknoledging the Lord yet I was not weel acquaint to waite for his councel: butt hee pitieng my caise ledd me verie marcifully, yet being under varietie of thoghts in this matter & not having a word of promise applyed to support me, my spirit was in some confusion, yet as s^d, led by a secret hand that knew my distress & how to lead me for my advantadg in the end.

And upon the 24th (having caused Park buy me a horse) I came to Edb^r & on the morrou crost the Ferrie & came to Kirkaldie Pathhead, & on the Saboth being the 28: I was unexpectedlie trysted w^t sermon by M^r John Moncreiff in a barn th^r, upon Obediah, q^rin I gott much satisfaction. And after sermon I retired to the fields, q^r the Lord helped me to pour out my heart befor him w^t weeping & suplication for maney things both in behalfe of my selfe, the church, my parents & other freinds then left behind me, & to plead as to my guiding and asistance q^r I was goeing, & I hope he th^t gave me a heart to plead w^t him at th^t time, also heard my reqwists. Some nights th^rafter I had occation to be witnes to the s^d minister's baptising a child q^r I got occation to speak w^t him & promised to come to his hous & pay him a visit, q^{ch} I did w^t some satisfaction.

Septer. 4th 1680, we took journey & the 8th we came to Inshoch¹ Parks hous in Murray.

And now having left my freinds & aquaintances, ther was some waightie thoughts upon my minde th^ranent and my bodey a litle fatigued w^t my journey could not get my minde to th^t sett I desired. And after some time being th^r I percaved the affaires I was th^r to ingadg in wer both somq^t publick & troublsom. Therfor getting occation I told the Laird I wold be glad if he had ane other to take the chairge of his affaires, I was a litle unwilling to medle in so publick afairs leist it made me to weel knoun, & after some conference th^ranent, he desired me to be doing so long as I thought fitt, and qⁿ I had not more freedome to medle, he should cause his Cussing Kinstivie (who

¹ See Introduction.

thⁿ stayed in his hous of Inshoch & w^t q^m I was to stay for bed & board) take the affaires of my hand, of q^{ch} I was content.

But qⁿ once I was ingadged I did then see I could not free my selfe conveniently untill the end of a year, so resolved to continow till nixt Martimas th^rafter and as I could desired to cast the burthin on the Lord, who had often helped me in greater straites.

And it pleased the Lord to give me favor in the sight off all I had to doe w^t, & made thos I was to stay w^t more tender of me as my father & mother, the q^{ch} was verie incourradging to me, & my minde was much calmed & made the more to serve the Lord w^t rejoising & gladnes of heart. But yet the difficulties of Parke's affaires & my unaqwaintednes w^t them made me oft at my peremptors how to guid. Then after some time of my abod ther the Lord gave me acquaintance & favor w^t some of the godlie in th^t place w^t q^m I had confortabl convers both by word & wreat, q^{ch} seemd to be blist of God for mutual edification, q^{ch} indeed proved maney times refreshing to my soul. I desired lykwayes to keep up some Christian coraspondance (w^t all the prudence and caution I could) w^t freinds in the south, but the time was so dangerous, I could doe litl th^t way, but yet ceased not as I could, the Lord assisting, to bring ther caise befor him & plead on th^r behalfe. And sin & Sathan still striving against me I had a fighting exercised lott; but the Lord often did lett me see th^r was a need for waights to bal-lance marcies & keep me to be sober & to watch unto prayer, & had great ground to bliss him he ceased not to be a Re-prover, hee knouing alwayes th^t was best, & in this often had much peace & maney sweet intervalles betwixt renewed tenta-tions & waights.

The Laird of Parke coming north again in July 1681, having considered my stayeng th^r any longer then the end of the year & seeing his affaires going into confusion he being under great debt, I resolved to ingadg no further, and therfor spock to him & told him so much, he desired me to continow, but when he persaved I was in earnest he promised not to obstruct my free-dom in the leist. Yet after his return to the south he wrot intreating if I could to stay, but I continouing in my former resolution wrot again & again th^t I could not, but he delayeing

his ans^r & the end of the year aproaching after seeking the Lord I desired advice & simparchie of some of the godlie th^r I was acqwant w^t, and gott freedom & access to plead the Lord might clear up my way & reconceil me to his holy will.

Particularly on day coming from Brodie¹ my alon, my thoughts & minde being takn up w^t th^t my caise, the Lord was pleased to warm my affectiones to him selfe & gave me freedom to pour out my heart befor him in tendernes, & I did find some reconceildnes to q^t he might clear up to be his wil, giving me some sweetnes in submission to his will, q^{ch} composed my minde much & gave me much ease & satisfaction; & I ame persuaded thos th^t feared the Lord in th^t place kindlie had simparchie w^t me, qⁱⁿ I gott full evidences both qⁿ occation served of meeting & by letters qⁿ th^t offered not.

Now the Parliament was shortlie to sitt & I was some dayes much straitned as to my oun caise, & on night about ten I w^t-drew my selfe to the feilds, but could gett no freedom nor incurradgment in my caise, but came home again under much discourradgment q^{ch} was weightie to me some time; but wⁱⁿ a night or two I went to the feilds againe, but being under sore pressures of spirit I could gett no intimations of favour, & being at the poynt of giving over at th^t time, I thought I wold once strive to minde the Churches caise befor I went home. In the w^{ch} the Lord condescended to give me much freedom, tendernes & faith in laying hold on th^t promise th^t was brought sweetlie to my minde, whatsoever ye aske the father in my name hee will give you, I wan to plead th^t hee wold braik the signes of enemies & outwitt th^m & crush ther councilles. And I thought I wan to great confidence if our sin & securetie did not hinder. Ther Parliament should not doe much skaith to the Church, in q^{ch} I gott great soul refreshment so th^t all my unbelieve & discourradgments wer dispelled, & my heart made greatlie to rejoyse, glorie to his name, tho we see but darklie heir and at best know but in pairt, yet he knoues the languadg of the spirit & will ans^r in dew time.

Maney times th^t summer I was comforted in dewtie, albeit maney times I had fightings w^tout & feares wⁱⁿ, sometimes

¹ Seat of Brodie of Brodie.

the waight of my parents caise lyeng heavie upon me w^t my sisters & th^r famelies & sometimes the Churches & my ounē.

And sometimes as it wer getting all the muntaines removed & wan to belive that what was his will behoved to be don, & th^t all things should work to gither for his glorie & his peoples good, praise to his name. And yet still uncertain q^t to doe or q^r nixt to setle made me somq^t troubled in my minde to gett affaires right. And few th^t wer sober & judicious wer for advising me to stay, & yet I was helped to some submission to what the Lord might think fitt to doe in it. And I offered th^t if Park pleased to cause Kinstirie to take the burthin off the attompts of my hand, th^t so I might have freedom to goe if necessatie cald me at a term, & I should stay & doe all I did befor, but I had no will the wholl burthing shold ly upon me seeing times wer so dangerous and then I had no freedome to ingadg w^t Cesses & militia and in payeng kirk men, q^{ch} it pleased the Lord so to order thes the former year th^t I was litle at all troubled w^t th^m.

Kinstirie seemd not verie refractive if Park desired him to take the burthin of all thes off my hand, as he told me a litle after th^t he had wrot to Park & hade acqwainted him th^rof, not being desirous I should goe away having the halfe of the Laird's pairt of the maines in his own hand.

But after long delayes, Park unexpectedlie sent a comission to four of his freinds to stat & clear my accompts, and most freindly in his letter allowed me my freedome. But being after the Terme of Martimas & having my accompts to clear, it was somq^t uneasie to me.

But having occation sometime befor to meet w^t Lethen Brodie¹ & conversing anent my intentiones to free my selfe of Parkes affaires, he sd if I stayed w^t Park hee was glade but if not & gott clear off his afares, desired I wold come to him.

But being so long delayed befor Parkes comission came made me almost out of hopes to assay to goe ther, and being so maney in the comission made it difficult to geet th^m convened, but thⁿ p^{ted} not till ended & subscribed by thes comissionat.

¹ That is to say, the laird of Lethen at this date, Alexander Brodie. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lewis Craig, and died in 1688, leaving a daughter married to Ludovick Grant of Grant.

And Lethen was yet content I should come & stay w^t him & help to oversee his affaires. And yet the thoghts of this troubled me not knouing how ther disposition & myne wold agree, the q^{ch} w^t the former troubl of my accompts begot some discourradgment & confusions in my minde.

Houever the 23d Dec^r. 1681, and th^t night I went th^r being under some waight. My ordinarie reading was Psalme 37 & meet w^t some confort from it & the mor th^t the Laird th^t night caused sing a p^t of th^t Psalme. Yet pairtlie through waight on my minde and pairtlie by unaqwaintednes in the famelie, I was somq^t cast down & attained to litle freedom th^rfrom for some weekes.

Upon Saboth Janrij 22d 1682 my ordinar of reading was Psal. 118 & having lookt to the Lord befor, my waight of minde continoued, yet th^t word th^rin griped my minde, vers 27, bind ye the sacrificse even w^t cordes to the hornes of the Alter, & getting some light and sweetnes heir in my minde was eased somq^t & I wan to plead w^t some more freedom, peace & satisfaction some times th^t week, and Saboth nixt being the 29th as I was walking & thinking upon my oun caise, the caise of the Church & the caise of freinds, in teares, it was I thoght cleared to me th^t my not being more content w^t my pr^t lott was my sin, and taking th^rw^t & resolving by greace to amend this I hade more peace & satisfaction in my minde, and wan to see marcie in the layeng on & continouing of rods & th^t the removel of th^m one moment sooner might be a disadvantadg. Now some time befor that singularlie holie, & blist man off God Mr Thomas Hoge¹ after long imprisonment was comd North under bond given by his freinds to ans^r the King's Council qⁿ called.

W^t him I had gott some acquaintance & finding him more heavenlie & sprituall thⁿ aney I ever had bein acquaint w^t, I went to see him w^t a resolution to be free in comunicatting my

¹ An account of Mr. Thomas Hog will be found in the *Scots Worthies*. He had been a minister in the neighbouring county of Ross, of which he was a native. He was several times imprisoned—latterly in the dungeons of the Bass. It must have been just after his release from his island prison that Nimmo met him. According to the author of the *Scots Worthies*, Hog was the brother-in-law of the laird of Park. Hog survived the Revolution, and was nominated a Royal Chaplain by William III.

caise to him, but after I had begun some person coming into him I was interrupted at th^t time. And th^t pleased the Lord to helpe me to plead sometime th^rafter, th^t hee might give a convenient oportunity again of convers w^t him & bliss & asist him to be usfull to me.

And not long after I gott oportunity & was free w^t him as to the Lord's first deallings w^t me & his way and work in my soule, and the Lord blissed him for my more steddie beliving, I also wan to much mor composednes of minde through the Lord's asistance. And Satan did nott gett me so easelie brangled out of my peace, as sometimes befor. And then it pleased the Lord to help me to be much concerned w^t the caise of his Church & people, parents & relationes, and particularlie w^t thos whos hearts the Lord had stirred up th^r to sympathise w^t me in my troubles th^t then for a considerabl time had comd in my way. And it pleased him so much to discover the sines of sones & doughters in Zion to my soul, as made me justifie him much in all his wayes in permitting so sadd & sore troubles to come upon us, and be abaised befor him.

So th^t some times after pleading & confessing of sines & sad desertiones my bouels have bein lyke to braike. And all this while it pleased the Lord to give me such peace betwixt him & my soule, th^t I was much helped to see both former & pr^t marcies & to bliss & praise & extoll him. I was made to observe sometimes th^t litle more as the seventine pairt of my reqweists was in behalfe of my selfe, but all this time as it pleased the Lord to helpe me to be so concerned for others, so it also pleased him to helpe others to be much concerned for me, q^{ch} was sometimes a sweet refreshment to my soul, to think th^t the Lord made others the mean of my spirituall support more then aney thing I could doe my selfe, for q^{ch} my soul was made to bliss & praise his holy name.

Nou after sometime being much takn up w^t affaires, & straitned with time I grew too secure in not striving more in mentaining peace & comunion betwixt the Lord & my soul, albeit sometimes I was helped much to be in earnest w^t him both as to my selfe & others, yet too much satisfied w^tout th^t sweet tendernes th^t formerly helped to attaine, off which I wan to gett some discoverie Saboth morning Majj 14. 82. And was

made to complain of my selfe & lament th^t it was long since hee had broght me in to his banqweting hous & since I had seen the king in his beutie, & made to plead o th^t I might see him as I had seen him heirtofor, & th^t he wold cause his south winde to blow & come over the mountaines of sin, as a young hart or roe upon the muntaines of Bether. And also abaising my selfe for my securetie, saying th^t should I excuse my selfe, so as to say I had putt off my coat hou should I putt it on.

But being made to see my oun waiknes, desired to pray hee might putt in his hand by the hol of the lock & doore of my heart th^t my bouels might be moved.

And th^t day I went & heard Mr. Hog upon John 3^d & 15th, that whosoever beliveth in him should not parish but have eternall liffe, and gott some sweetnes th^rin.

The sence of my caise much tooke me up th^t night, & some dayes th^rafter upon Munday 15 I was made to see a need of furthur sealling confirmationes of the Lord's love, and helped to plead as in Cant, 8 & 6th, sett me as a seal upon thⁿ heart and as a seal upon thⁿ arme, w^t some kinde of sweet submission & to plead th^t he wold wash my teares. O blist be he th^t came to help. Upon Twesday th^r was a scocietie meeting att Mr. Hoges, but the Laird's affaires being throng I wanted confidence to aske libertie to goe, so staid at home, but th^rafter I was challenged in my mind th^t I used not means, q^{ch} begott some exercise to me; & was sore greived for some time & had some sore struglings th^t week through the stirring of a bodey of sin & death. Upon Saturdayes night the 20 day I thought th^t was w^t much light brought in my minde, I had wholie closed w^t God through Christ for salvation & continually trusted in him since for the same, but I had not so closed w^t him for sanctification & for leading & gwidng in my dalie straites.

And upon Saboth 21, Maij 82, I heird Mr. Hoge upon the former text, and in the beginning he told the last day he had been speaking of the life of peace w^t God, and now he was to speake of the life of sanctification & grace, through th^t assurance & justification, q^{ch} weel agreed w^t q^t was my exercise on Saturdayes night. I thought the Lord made everie sentence aplicable th^to, w^t much light & understanding therin, but

could not gett aney particular off it, so to affect my heart as to give me peace anent q^t I wold have bein att.

From this to Saturday Junij 3^d I was under some sharpe tossinges through the prevailings of a bodie of death & the sence of my wants, or qⁿ seeking after q^t might be my dewtie th^t word was brought to my minde, Watch & pray. That afternoon I was sore discourradged w^t something came in my way, but in the reading of ane letter I mett w^t a word gave me some more incurradgment & some more confidence in prayer, albeit wanting intimationes of kindnes, yet necessetie made me earnest, O praise to him th^t sees q^{ts} for our good. Upon Saboth morning I wan to some thoughts of maney of my former acquaintances th^t wer now in eternatie, & also upon the sad miscariadges of maney professors in the south, both which had waightie impressiones upon my heart and by grace helped to be in some seriousness anent sundrie thinges befor the Lord.

Now M^r Alex^r Dunbarr¹ was to preach at our hous of Leathen th^t day, and after the fornoon's sermon was ended it came in my minde now it was ended & q^t had I gottn of it, q^{ch} was little or nothing I thought. Then I was made to say, blist be the Lord th^t lives, th^t had saide to my soul th^t hee was my God & th^t I ame his & th^t the day was coming th^t the mariadg feast should be solemnised & th^t th^r shall be a full injoyeng off him to all eternatie.

And then retired my selfe q^r I gott a glance of maney advantadges by the Lord's bringing me to Murray, which made me rejoyse much and to bliss & praise the Lord for th^t same and to plead th^t the joy of the Lord might be my streanth.

Then my soul being made to rejoyse in the sight of my for s^d marcies, I wan to plead w^t the Lord, & th^t word was made sweet to me, 1 Thess. 5 & 6, rejoise evermor, and also w^t sweetness th^t word came into my minde, Hosea 2^d & 14, I will allure her & bring her into the wildernes, & speak comfortablie unto her, but th^t q^{ch} gave me most comfort & confirmation in my caise was in the 15 verse later pairt.—And she shall sing th^r as in the dayes of her youth & as in the dayes qⁿ she came up out of Egypt.

¹ According to Wodrow Mr. Alexander Dunbar was, in 1685, sent, along with several other ministers, as a prisoner to the south.

Then unbeliff & Satan began to whisper in my minde, Oh I fear this will be lyke the morning cloud & the earlie dew, th^t soon passeth away.

Then I s^d Lord q^t is my dewtie th^t thow may not be to my soul as a wayfaring man th^t taries but for a night. Then th^t word came w^t some life in my soul, Isay 50 & 10, Trust in the name of the Lord & stay thy selfe upon thy God. Then I s^d Lord thou knowes th^t faith is thy gift & th^t I can not belive except it be given me, & so desired to plead for faith.

Then I thought the afternoones sermon wold begine & I might not stay longer, yet after a litle resolved to pray again & s^d, Lord thow knowes my frailtie & th^t I ame ready to be led into delusion, th^rfor make me belive thes thinges th^t they ar from the. Then th^t scriptur was brought to my minde, Acts 10 & 15, later pairt, q^t God hath cleansed th^t call not thow common. That week th^rafter I was considerably caried up in my soul & helped to be att my dewtie, but the week th^rafter I had some sore struglings w^t a bodey of death.

Upon Munday 26 in the morning I wan to be serious in pleading th^t if it wer the Lord's will to take me back to my oun land againe (I mean to the south from quce I came) he wold goe alonges & be w^t me to keepe me straight in his way ther. And th^t word came tacitlie in my minde but after made to close w^t it most sweetlie, Psal: 37 & 34. Waite on the Lord & keep his way & hee shall exalt the to inherit the Land, &c.

About two yeares befor this I hade some thoghts of mariadg & did propose it to a relation of my oun. And one night my alon I was pleading w^t much concernednes th^t if even I was to be married the Lord wold give me on had saving grace, & it came in my minde q^t if th^t be not his wil? then I s^d thⁿ Lord give me on w^tin ye covnant of redemption; & then it came in again, q^t if th^t be not his will, then I said Lord thⁿ give me submission & imediatly th^t came in w^t pouer & life, Psal. 145 & 19—He will fulfill the desire of th^m th^t fear him. And now having sett doun some small glance as a teast off the maney things I have been trysted w^t in a single lott q^rin the caires of this world w^t respect to its substance & concernes th^t way had litl share, q^{ch} ryper yeares & a married lott more readely ingadges into. And being to observe the Lord's way w^t me in some

things in relation to & in a married lott, I take a short vew back of q^t hitherto I have mett w^t. And

1. First, I observe it as the mercie & goodness of God th^t hee was att paines w^t me befor the caires of this life gott rooting in my heart aither by habit or necessatie.

2. Secondlie, the Lord's secret & unseen wisdom in the wayes he takes to lead poor things into, under dark vailles for th^r good qⁿ they see it not, as in my caise, For

1. First, a discord betwixt my father & M^r carries me to schooll at Sterling.

2. Secondlie, a small providence cutts off my interprise att Glasgow.

3. Thirdlie, my father's harshnes & the Lord's rods wer both needfull and usfull in pairt to level pryde.

4. Fourthlie, when I wold have stay'd at home I cannot, qⁿ my father will keep me he darr not.

5. Fiftlie, I was averse to serve my father at home, necessatie makes me glade to serve straingers abroad.

6. After troubl Religion is made sweet, this inclynes to act for God, persecution folloues hard at the heeles.

7. Seventlie, qⁿ I think to flee to Holland, the Lord causes the winde of his providence carie me to Murray.

8. Eightlie, ther, qⁿ in a wildernes the Lord speakes comfortable. And ther more kindnes, intimacie & freedom w^t the Lord & his people thⁿ at home.

9. Nyntly, as I had been pleading some times, if ever I was to be married the Lord wold give me on gracious so I behoved to take her of his choising & q^r & how, praise, praise to his name for his wondrous works to the children of men.

And heir I cannot but take nottice of a former passadg some considerabl time or I came to Murray, on night th^t was frost & clear w^t starres, I was walking w^tout (as I then much used to doe) & my minde takn up in much concernednes w^t others & taking a vew of the severall places and famelies about me, q^t they wer doing hou concerned and bussied in things of the world & how few concerned w^t ther soules or the things of God or ane Eternale state. My face & eyes was at last directlie fixed to the North in thes thoghts. O what ar the poor peopl farr North doing, q^t of God is amongst th^m, & my eyes wer

filled w^t teares & the bouels of my affectiones, as it wer going out after & knutt to th^m, q^{ch} I soon forgot till the Lord brought me to be amongst th^t people, q^r I began to looke back & reflect on the same; to him ar knoun all his workes from the beginning, who sent my heart & affectiones th^r befor I knew it, or was to goe to it.

I most acknowledg his wayes to be in¹ the thick cloudes & deep waters. And o how pleasant did the Lord att lenth make the godlie in th^t place to me. And particularlie th^t signalie holy man of God M^r Thomas Hoge, who was a trew father in oure Israll, & to q^m all th^t feared the Lord th^t knew him had a great deference, yea enemies themselves. He being not onlie indewed w^t much of the minde of God, but also w^t much of a clear Judgment & a solid sound minde. And albeit courtious to all yet wold not omite (w^t authoretie) to reprove sin in aney, but w^t such gaining wisdome, th^t all feared him. The godlie loved him, and enemies could find nothing against him, except in the matters of his God, q^rin hee wold not yeeld a hoove. And yet manadged w^t th^t respect & discretion towards his enemies th^t often they wer made to admeere him, for in his maister's concernes he spack as one having authoretie, th^t w^tout the leist evidence of rankor or irritation alwayes.

In his younger yeares he & th^t eminentlie pious woman, Mistris Ross by her husband & Kathrin Colace by name, by providence wer made aquaint, and being both deeplie exercised in soule by the blissing of the Lord wer helped to build up on ane other in Christ Jesus, and th^rby the Lord made them signalie usefull to others in lyke caises, and particularly M^r Hog q^m the Lord called furth more remarkablie in his particular calling, who albeit the Lord never gave him children yet the Lord once pourfullie gave him th^t scriptur² & fulfilled it to him. I will give the a name better then of sones & dough-ters. Making him the Instrument of begetting maney sones & doghters to the Lord. And it was his great caire as a father to convince and humbl th^m by the Lord's asistance, & then to confort & confirm th^m in dew time to doe q^{ch} the Lord both

¹ This passage is quoted in the appendix to Wodrow's History, edited by the Rev. Robert Burns, 1839.

² Isaij 56 and 5th.

by preaching & conference singularlie asisted him, more I judg then aney in his day.

And now I return, I was but short time in Murray till a godlie freind proposed, th^t on Elizabeth Brodie (q^m she s^d was a gentlwoman of good freinds & trewlie pious) wold be a fitt wife for me, of q^{ch} I took litle nottice at the time. But about mor as a year therafter some others trewlie gratus proposed the same to me again, and att leanth blist M^r Hoge (who had comd from the south q^r he had long bein a prisoner for his faithfulnes and at once eightine monthes in the Castl of the Bass, a rock in the sea as befor mentioned) after some intimat acquaintance w^t me, & seeing the tirrannicall goverment was lyke to continow & I a strainger & in a solitarie place from my oun relations, proposed th^t seeing in th^t place my dangerous circumstances as obnoxius to the iniquwous lawes of the time was litle knoun but among freinds th^t I might setle & marie. And also proposed the same person, to q^{ch} (considering how circumstantial) I had but small inclination, and th^rfor I waved it then. Houever a considerabl time th^rafter, in feb. 1682, I went once & againe to visit him (q^{ch} alwayes was refreshing to me to doe) and then he minded me of his former proposal & charged me as I wold anser to the Lord to take some time apairt to consider it, q^{ch} tooke so farr w^t me as to propose it thⁿ my selfe to some godlie freinds in th^t place, to simpathis w^t me th^rin. And first to Christan M^cIntosh who s^d she feared my father wold not consent, being at such ane distance, & I his only sone.

Then to worthie James Sutherland upon the 20 of feb., who told me on the 23 th^t he never wan to more freedome in pleading in aney temporal affaire, but thoght it might be only the Lord intending kindnes to myselfe. Then I told it to Isobel Gray (the first th^t proposed it to me) who told me some time th^rafter th^t th^r was maney objections raised in her minde against it, but at lenth in prayer all thes takn away & th^t word given her peace I give yow—lett nott yo^r heart be troubled nether lett it be afrayed, she s^d she assayed again to plead, (under fear th^t th^r was not yet ground enough to rest satisfied) but was made silent. Christan M^cIntosh her ans^r is in her Letter dated 18 feb., the doubl q^rof is amongst others, which

was no wayes discourraging but in much evidence of the Lord's guiding her to prudence th^rin.

Now all this while it pleased the Lord to helpe me, to be so much concerned w^t other things upon my spirit th^t this had not great waight, but still some of the forsd persones seemd to be more & more for it, but trewlie I most confess th^r was much concerne about the Church on my mind at this time.

Maij 26 I was w^t Mr Hoge who was lyke a father to me, who after th^r was a considerabl time spent in conference or other thinges, as he had sometimes befor been challenging me th^t my bodie was sorlie extenuat, q^{ch} indeed I aprehend was accationed p^{lie} by the waightie impressions of our dark & sorelie benighted condition as to the Church of Christ, occationed by our sadd depairtings from God, & provoking the Lord sadlie to discover our nakednes, who by his duelling amongst us once made us the beutie of nationes.

So Mr. Hoge s^d at this time th^r behoved to be something th^t troubled me and intreated I might be free w^t him. I told him th^r might be severall reasons in my solitarie condition. Then he desired I might marie. And after some serious speaking to me th^ranent, s^d I might repent th^rafter if I did not, for s^d he th^t comes oft in my minde, wo to him th^t is alone in thos dayes, and againe charged me to sett some time apairt to consider the matter befor the Lord. And upon the 27th when I was seriouslie thinking of th^t matter befor the Lord, w^t maney heavie thoghts considering my present state, th^t scriptur was born home on my minde, My grace is suffitient for the. Then I was desirous the Lord might make me kno its meaning to me th^ranent, and th^t was imprest on my minde, walke on & trust in him.

Upon the 29th I went & spock w^t James Sutherland & condescended th^t the proposall anent the formentioned person might be assayed, for he was a faithfull freind, therfor desired him & Mr Hog to advise and take the most expedient way they could.

They having consulted it was thoght fitt, that Mr Sutherland himselfe should goe & propose the affaire to her himselfe.

And accordinglie, Jun 14 1682, he went to Elgin wher was on of ther greatest marcats supposing she might be ther. And

as he told me th^rafter he beged of the Lord befor he went th^t if she was ther he might meet w^t some person might direct him to her. And the first knoun person he mett w^t was her eldest brother,¹ att q^m (after saluting) he inquired for her, who directed him to q^r she was.

And coming to her told her he had some serious matter to speake to her anent, and after some litle comuning it was concluded they should goe to the Toun Clarke's hous q^r she was acquaint, q^r they gott a chamber th^r alone, q^r he proposed the affaire w^t much cautiousnes and tendernes of me.

And she being tender of me also as circomstantial, wold not give denyal at first, but tooke two or three weekes to consider the same.

And th^t weeke I being made to goe boued down under unbelife & the overcomings of a bodey of death I could not be much concerned in th^t affaire. The nixt weeke the Lord was pleased to remove all my feares & give me solide peace in himsele, and helped me to be more concerned th^rin and to plead the Lord might hear all th^t wer concerned th^rabout, by way of simpatheie w^t us, And helped to plead th^t the person most concerned in it might gett clearnes what ther dewtie was, and th^t she might be helped to be single befor the Lord, and th^t our affectiones might be kept at a dew distance in aney thing might marr our marcie or displeas the Lord. And th^t if it wer his holy will, desired our affectiones might be singlie knutt to gither in the Love of God in Christ.

Upon the 8th of July she came to her Cussing Lethens q^r I comuned w^t her in th^t matter my selfe, who w^t much solidnes & ingenuetie told me she did not finde much darknes in her minde in the consideration of it nether wan to much light th^ranent, but qⁿ she had sett some time apairt to seek off the Lord clearnes in her way th^rin (not being willing to doe aney thing to afflict me a strainger as circomstanced thⁿ) she gott that scriptur w^t much sweetnes aplied in her minde, Psal. 97 & 11, light is soun for the rightious & gladnes for the upright in heart.

Upon Munday the 10th day after some conference (I having

¹ According to the pedigree of the Brodies of Windyhill, Elizabeth had only one brother, John.

told her th^t it was not my intrest to doe aney thing w^tout my father's consent) if she wold alow me I wold try to gett it, to q^{ch} she acquiessed apprehending it might stope th^r.

So after advising w^t freinds some wer of minde I should goe my selfe, the which considering as matters stode w^t me I was at first avers from.

But after some serious thoughts, judged it fitt th^t both myself & others might seeke to the Lord for counsell. And at lenth was made content to goe if the Lord in providence should concurr, & helped to plead if hee thought it note meet th^t he wold marcifulie stope the same.

Then I though it fitt to speak to the Ladey¹ to try her husband if he wold allow me some few weekes to goe south anent some affaire th^t concerned me. The q^{ch} she ingadged to doe.

And th^rafter I being at dewtie my alon th^r was severall difficulties came into my minde th^ranent, and also qⁿ they came the Lord helped me (as I thoght) w^t all my heart to plead th^t if hee thoght it not fitt I should goe th^t hee might marcifullie stop the same. And wⁱⁿ a litle th^rafter the Ladey told me her husband had given her ane denyel in th^t matter.

And I fand the Lord not onlie keeping me from repyning but sweetlie delighting in his will, & all my waights in th^t mater freeie taken off, and my minde reforest in beliving all was in marcie, trusting th^t as the Lord helped me w^t much qwaietnes of minde in pairt to looke to a higher hand, I was also helped to putt ane favorabl construction upon th^t providence, and was then only resolved to wreat to my father, and I did the more observe this th^t it was upon the Saturdayes night the 15th July, th^t so through the Lord's marcie I was less troubled w^t the thoghts of my Journey upon the Saboth, but a litl time th^rafter meeting w^t on I had desird to be concerned w^t me, I told th^m the Laird had putt a stop to my Journey & th^t I was now out of thoghts to goe but to write.

The s^d person answered they wold not belive th^t till they fand by the end the contrair for, s^d they, in prayer it was cleared to th^m th^t I should goe, for th^t word came satisfienglie in ther

¹ That is to say, the wife of Hay of Lochloy and Park.

minde, Isay 41 & 10, fear thow not for I ame w^t the. Then th^t they objected might not ane other doe for me or my letter, & also raised other objectiones, but it was still born in upon ther minde, No, goe & I will be w^t the.

Upon this relation I thought fitt yet to try further if the Lord wold clear my way, & remove obstructiones. And in prayer it came w^t some sweetnes into my minde, I might once seek liberty from the Laird my selfe; then I was made to plead if I was to doe so the Lord might tryst me w^t a fitt opur-tunety.

So th^t on Munday the 17th I gott a convenient occation to speeck with him and told him I knew he had ill sparing of me, but I intended not to stay long & I thought Alex^r Hay his nephew might suplie my place till my retorne, & if in my pouer I wold doe him als much service againe.

The q^{ch} request w^t some intimationes of unwillingnes, at lenth was granted, if M^r Hay wold undertake and I not stay long, q^{ch} M^r Hay condescended to doe and give attendance till my retorne.

Upon Munday 24th July I spok to some of my former freinds to be concerned befor the Lord for me, considering travel oftymes made unfitt for dewtie, and also to plead th^t those I was to be concerned with might be swayed to doe so as the Lord might gett glorie & I peace. And indead the Lord was not wanting in my Jurney & upon fryday 21 I came to Edb^r, & verie providentialie gott occation of a person I knew butt they knew not me, to send ane Letter to my father (for I durst not goe publicklye my selfe being intercomuned) who sent my brother in law to me and trysted me to come privatlye to ane Aunt's hous mor as to myles distant from his.

Wher after comuning w^t him anent the affaire, shewed him I had never done aney thing w^tout his consent & therfor came to lay this befor him, to which he was not refractive from it so farr as consisted w^t reason, alwayes intimating his unwillingnes I should ingadg ther further, then th^t if the Lord should send peace att home I might return home & so concluded & pairted; only I most observe the marcie of God in this, th^t qⁿ my father had condescended he s^d send the contract blank & I will fill up so much if not more, I s^d ye kno my circomstances th^tfor if yow

please give me y^r bond for q^t ye allow me att the time & I will be pairtie contracter my selfe for she & her freinds had intire confidence in me, to q^{ch} he willinglie yealded upon thes thoughts or it had been lost afterward.

Then on thursday August 3^d I returned & came to Elgine on the 7th, and on the 8th went to Pluscarden q^r her mother lived; but she not being att home but at Muirtoun, after a litle stay I went th^r to her, & not getting much conveniencie to speack w^t her alon (for the matter as yet was keeped verie secret except to a few christian freinds) I gave S^r James Calder's Ladey ane accompt of q^t progress I had made in my Jurney south; & on the 9th I gott some convers (albeit litle) w^t herselfe: who told me she resolved to acquaint her unckle Windihils¹ and lett him acquaint q^m he pleased. And on the 12th Windihils wrot to me, th^t if w^t conveniencie I might come & speak w^t him. And in all this it pleased the Lord (by all apearance) to keep oure affectiones single, w^t submission to the holy will of God: if he should be pleased to putt a stop th^{to}.

Munday Aug: 28. The Ladey Lethen speaking to me anent my setling, if th^t mater did effectual (and th^t w^t some sharpnes) saying th^t she was a diserving gentlwoman I was thinking to ingadg w^t, and hoped I wold not desire to make her & my selfe miserable, but th^t I wold consider some way so to setle as make a livelihood. I told her my circumstances in some measur was knoun & I was most willing to take advice of freinds, and so some person coming in we was interrupted.

Yet this brought some considerationes in my minde, affected my heart considerablie, seeing multitudes of difficulties as it wer Armies mustered up against me in a maried lott. And being sore waighted providence led me about some affaires of the Laird's to a solitarie place in the feilds, q^r for some time I was made to groan out my complaint to the Lord w^t sighes, teares & suplicationes. And when thus in great distress th^t scriptur came w^t some pouer on my spirit, 2^d kinges 7 & 3^d &

¹ Francis Brodie of Windyhill was served heir to his father, 16 July 1672. He was heavily fined in 1685 for rejecting the Test Act. Wodrow (iv. 196) says: 'Francis Brodie of Windyhill was fined in a sum near the value of his estate, which being but small, he got it down.'



4th, anent the four leproous men att the gate of Samaria: q^{ch} the Lord made verie aplicabl to my caise.

For if I returned q^r I came from th^r apearede death, & if I stayed in the single solitarie caise I was in, it seemed a kind of death also, and seeing the difficulties of a married lott was mustered up as the Armie of the Syrians, I might ventur on it I should butt die also. And (blist be God) they mett w^t a marcifull disapointment, & so might I.

Then a litle after I was made to bliss & praise the Lord th^t hade given us his law and testimonies, that they might be our counseiores in all our doubts & feares. And made to grip closser to the former scriptur, & gott some glimpses of more light q^t might be my dewtie.

September first qⁿ I was murning befor the Lord & laying out befor him as I could, that I was no driven from freinds & relationes th^t should asist me in my present circomstances as ingadged, that Scriptur came in w^t some solid satisfaction, Prov: 18th & tenth verse, The name of the Lord is a strong Touer, the rightious runneth into it & is safe.

Now as occation served she did acquaint her freinds, & they pleasantlie intertained it. Praise to the Lord who gave me favor in ther eyes, for they evidenced much kindnes to us both. The q^{ch} gave to me ground off incurradgment. And for some time befor it had pleased the Lord to keep maters clear betuxt him & my soul, as to my spiritwall caise: so th^t albeit I was made to walk in fear of miscarieng being compast w^t maney marcies, yet I was expecting some thing th^t might humble me.

So about the beginning of Octo^r hee was pleased to send some infirmnes upon me th^t was verie affecting, but in dewtie alone Octo^r 5th I was made to see th^r was need it should be so, & made me sweetlie to be reconceiled to his holy will, & to look back to former marcies & to trust in him, & belive it was in marcie. And nou albeit the rod seemed verie terifieng att the first (being a suddan inflamation w^t a great swelling in one of my leges) yet it pleased the Lord after some times continuance, to take it away as unexpectedly as almost it came, o praise to him who then keep my soul solide & stedfast in trusting in him.

Octo^r 18th the Laird & I ryding to Brodie I had occasion mor freele to speak w^t him & desired him to speak to Brodie anent ane meeting of freinds to cumun anent the forsd affaire, and after our return it was thocht fitt th^t the nixt day I should goe to Pluscarden to speake w^t her brother for th^t effect. The q^{ch} I did and th^t night, I was trysted w^t that Scriptur, Psal: 27 & last, waite on the Lord & be of good couradg & he will streanthn thine heart. And was made rationalie to drau confort from it, but the nixt morning qⁿ I awoke I fand my minde setled & solidlie stayd, and all vain thoghts expelled, but perceaved w^t much solidnes the waight of a maried life, q^{ch} was yet heavie on my minde, & th^t forsd scriptur was brought to my minde again w^t some sweetnes, but I still did see a trew prospect th^t all heir is but vanetie & vexation of spirit. And fund my heart much loused from all the pleasures of time, and some times solidlie & seriouslie to plead for grace & throu bearing streanth, for the most part I delighting in retirednes & to be my alon.

Oftn wishing (w^t submission to his holie will) for death reather then life, seeing as I thocht nothing heir in temporals but sorrow, but in the grave, ther the wicked should ceas from troubling & th^r the wearie be at rest, Job: 3^d & 17, & then sighing and sorrouing should flee away.

Then also maney difficulties apeared as to my not knouing q^r to setle, and th^t passadg came to my minde about Marie & others going to the sepulchar, anent the difculty of getting the ston rolled away & when they came to the place it was done to th^r hand, from q^{ch} being made to take some incurradgment. I was made to say to the Lord, Thou hast been a sun & a sheild, thou hast given grace & thou wilt give Glory. Then after some sweet thoughts of the shortnes off time, and my soul being made somewhat to rejoyse th^rin, I fand my heart beginning to have a desire to sitt doune upon the same & grou secure, then th^t sayeng came in my minde of the disciples at the Transfiguration, anent the building of Tabernickals to rest ther.

Some few dayes th^rafter the divel my oun heart, & the world sette upon me w^t strong intising & continoued temptations, th^t albeit it pleased the Lord to give me grace to plead

against th^m sometimes, yet I was lyke on constantlie fighting & lyke to be overcome. Butt upon Twesdayes night Oct^r 24th I wan throw his grace to lay aside all my caise & troubl anent earthlie thinges & was made to reflect upon my being so litle in layeng out my selfe to be for the Lord in my station, w^t sore greiff upon my minde for the same, and for my being so litle spritualie minded, & so litle in the thoghtsoff death and eternatie, so th^t I was helped w^t much sorrow but with much fervencie to pouer out my heart befor the Lord, layeng all my waights aside as to my setling & other things th^rto relating. Upon Saturday Octo^r 28 ther was a meeting of freinds as to the setling of the forsd purpose q^r was Brodie, Lethen, Windihiles & Maine,¹ w^t her eldest brother John & Miltoun,² q^r I mett w^t some things th^t for want of dew watchfullnes & single dependance did much troubl me for some time. But upon Mundayes morning Octo^r 30 I was made to reflect upon my selfe, in findinge mis-constructiones of the Lord & his wayes being the cause of my troubl in not winning wholly to trust in him, in all my difficulties, and I gott much light of my caise from thes words, John 15 to the 8th but particularly in the 7th verse, If ye abide in me & my words abide in you, ye shall aske q^t ye will & it shall be done unto you.

The first advantadg Satan seemd to gett at this time in this caise was upon the 14 of Octo^r. Then getting a letter from my father shouing the death of my kinde brother in law (W^m Fleming) off three dayes in a violent and fatal cholick, att q^{ch} newes I did not whollie cast the burthing on the Lord, but was so waighted & affected th^t my hands & heart was waikned in dewties for some days, but then it was brought to my minde hou much I had been concerned sometimes befor the Lord, th^t he wold deal savingly w^t my sister & parents, and th^rfor knew not butt this might be the channel the Lord might make marcie to run into, the q^{ch} thoghts setled my minde & made

¹ Alexander Brodie of Mayne was the son of the Rev. Joseph Brodie, 7th son of Brodie of Brodie. He seems to have sold Mayne in 1691, and purchased Muireisk near Turriff in Aberdeenshire. He died in 1695. See the Brodie pedigree.

² Francis of Miltoun and Inverlochtie, son of Francis, 6th son of Brodie of Brodie. He died in 1693. His son Joseph sold the estate of Miltoun to Lord Braco in 1730, and purchased Windyhill from the family of Elizabeth Brodie.

me greived w^t my selfe for my sinfull douncastings th^rin, and gott intimationes of peace & pardon, but Satan was not yet wanting to make new assailtes upon me.

But to return to my forsd purpose, I went east to speake w^t freinds as to the drauing of the Contract and to speake as to my setling, for Lethen thought it might be fitt considering my circomstances to try his sone in law the Laird of Grant¹ as to a place in Straithspay it being remott. Nov^r 8th her brother & I concluded th^t he should goe to Balach castel and speake w^t Grant anent some place th^r.

Upon the 11th I returned & upon Tuesday the 15th my brother in law² wrot to me he had spokk w^t Grant, but he being to goe to Ed^r upon Thursday thocht fitt I should goe to him my selfe. The q^{ch} I did but not finding my minde weel complyeng w^t the conveniencie proposed, I tooke the mater to advise & returned home, for qⁿ I was ther I fand my minde as it wer tortured in the thoghts of my setling in th^t place, q^r th^r was litle of the fear of God.³

And was made to aleadg befor the Lord th^t he was obleidged of his free marcie to undertake for me. So coming home under severale discourraging thoghts, I was made to flee unto the Lord for helpe & finding peace in my minde in the using of laufull meanes, for th^t effect I was resolved not so much to troubl my minde as to th^t again but waite in the use of meanes for ane outgate as to my setling at the Lord's apointed time.

Now this time my mind was oftn tossed w^t severall thinges considering as I was then stated, but yet in the meantime did find thes tossings sometimes ingadg my heart to cleave the mor to seeke neernes w^t God through Jesus Christ, and sometimes in the midst of all thes gott my heart satisfied in finding peace w^t himselfe. Albeit my troubles sometimes came th^t leanth as I could easelie have been made content I had never moved in th^t affair off my mariadg.

Now upon November last, 1682, after severall reasoninges, betuixt her freinds and me, as to the Contract, all was agreed,

¹ The Laird of Grant married the only child of Brodie of Lethen. See *supra*.

² *I.e.* John Brodie.

³ The covenanting element not being so strong in the Highlands.

& it subscribed. But a difficultie arose anent our being proclaimed, q^{ch} was lyke to troubl both of us, for some of her freinds prest we should be proclaimed att the Church, by the Episcopall presentor: the q^{ch} to doe nether of us had freedome for. And after tryeng of severall outted ministers to marey us, w^tout proclamation, they refused out of fear of danger. And yitt blised Mr. Hog, tho under bond to answer the King's Councill, qⁿ called, condescended to doe it, seeing others had refused, and apoynted Munday morning December 4th for th^t end, q^r I advertised some godie freinds to be witnesses, q^r att Mr. Hog his oune hous it was solemnised, q^r the Lord did evidence his presence to the conviction of severals. I was w^t worthie James Sutherland, th^t night befor, who was dangerously sick, and fell to be verie unweel my selfe, for a litle in the morning, I was made to look back & remember how some times I had thought if I wer to have such ane occation, I wold be more concerned, qⁿ I had seen others in lyke caise, but yet qⁿ it came to be my own lott, I was by frailtie rendered unfitt for dewtie, & made to see it was not good to delay time to the last, and th^t it was good to be earlie at our work for qⁿ we might think we wold doe, we might be unfitt for the same.

Now having married privatlie (both for our own & blist Mr Hog his saftie) after taking a small refreshment w^t him, we pairted & I went home & she w^t a freind about two miles distant, whoes bedfellow my freind had bein the first night she was married in the lyke caise. And we continued living at a distance upon the former reason for some monthes.

Tuesday upon the morrow after our being married, being the 5th Dec^r, I tooke some phisick by reason of my bodelie indisposition, q^{ch} was so as made me unfitt for dewtie befor the Lord. And upon the 6th I keep my bed, being under some sweet upon my bodie, but that day th^r was such ane afrighting lyke sight of our troubles lyke to come upon this land, and seeing all thinges heir but vanetie & vexation of spirit, & finding the Lord reconceilled, my heart was loused from all the pleasures heir, & had some fervent inclinationes to be dissolved.

Thursday the 7th I took some mor phisick, fryday the 8th I was made to see much of my own vilnes & unworthines & made to abhor & abaise my selfe, but fand my minde solid &

serious befor the Lord, th^t word came oft in my minde they th^t kno thy name will putt th^r trust in the.

Saturday the 9th I wan much to be takn up w^t my oun case & the caise of th^m I was now most concerned w^t. And th^t both as to spirituals & temporals in maney particulares, w^t much fervencie of spirit, & solidnes of minde, but could not gett my minde: so concerned for the Church, parents, freinds & relations, & th^t night I wan to much pease of minde in dewtie. The q^{ch} day Elisabeth Brodie my now spuse came from her visits in the west, q^r she had bein sinse the 4th, to Lethen, q^r we wer obliddged to cary w^t as much abstractnes as tho not in such a relation.

Saboth dece^r 10 I was sorlie vexed w^t maney sore tentationes of worldly thoghts to draw my heart from God & dewtie, but was helped to plead & cry to the Lord for help, holding up to him my oun waiknes to resist w^tout divine helpe, but nevertheles Satan presented thes things so desirabl to the naturall eye: so as to continou ther assaults, but still I was under the sense of danger to give way to thes thinges, th^t as the tentation continoued so thee Lord helped me to resist, & plead for help, and falling down befor the Lord I could get litle or no streanth to plead as to particulares of my oun caise, yet at lenth gott much freedome to poure out my heart befor him, in the behalfe of thos, I could not win to be concerned w^t the former day.

And the same 10th day M^r Alex^r Dunbar preaching in our house qⁿ the first sermon was done it came suddanlie in my minde th^t oft times troubles we meet w^t might be to helpe us to carie under marcies coming, by q^{ch} I fand my heart refresht, and also in singing the psalm after sermon, I was confortd through fresh discoveries of the Lord's kindnes.

And qⁿ I retired I wan to see much of the Lord's goodnes, through former & present marcies, & my heart under strong and great desires, for grace to praise, exalt & magnifie, the great goodnes, & the free, wonderfull & constant loving kindnes, hee evidenced towards me, & fand the Lord giving me much neernes w^t himselfe, under sensible manifestationes of his love, peace, pardon, & reconciliation, but under feares of its short continuance, & made to plead w^t q^t fervencie I could, th^t he wold continow the same w^t me, not in aney singular way

but by keeping the eyes of my understanding open, & the life of grace in its solide exercise, in my soule, & in giving me grace to carie humblie under thes his marcies, but still under feares of my misguiding of so great priviledges, & still helped to plead against the same under much sense of my oun waiknes, & nature's bentnes to turne his grace into wantoness, or to sitt down in my securetie & forgett the need of constant supplie.

That week th^rafter I could not say but the Lord mentained much peace in my minde, albeit sometimes sor prest under waight & difficulties.

Saturdays night (being in Inshoch) I gott some satisfieng blainks of his love, q^{ch} brought much solid peace in my minde.

Saboth, Dece^r 17, missing sermon in Knokondie, M^r Hog's hous, I came home to Lethen, & being too late the gates being closed, th^rfor retired to a barn loft th^t fornoon, q^r I fand the Lord made out to be the only fountain from q^{ch} I was not debarred: but gave me some sweet intimations of his kindnes, w^t much solid peace on my minde, pleading for grace to watch on everie hand, leist Satan & a bodie of death should prevaile, th^t night I wan to see much of our loss in dewtie, in not getting the faith of the Lord's being alwayes neer us, as ane omnipotent God.

And wan to see much of the neerness of th^t relation to everie person of th^t famelie I was now related to, by my mariadg, even so neer as w^t my oun parents and relationes, & I was helped to plead in th^r behalfe, & th^t I might be kepted to doe so still. And th^t we might all have dew love & respect to on ane other.

Wednesday, Dece^r 20, my wife went from Lethen, the q^{ch} day my bodie being somq^t fraile, after taking a litle rest, I found it much refreshed, & my spirit calme, & solid, and desiring to lay out my caise befor the Lord, as to our being seperat, q^{ch} I was made to belive, was in his wisdom, for our advantadg, I was confortd, w^t th^t word, 1 Sam. 1 & 8, ame not I better thⁿ ten sones, & made to see Christ a husband as it wer by relation. And with much earnestnes I was helped to plead, th^t the Lord wold undertake for us: & made to rejoyse in the wonderful way of providence, in bringing about th^t matter & w^t much desire, helped to plead, th^t whatever way the Lord shold think

fitt for us to goe, th^t hee wold clear up our dewtie and determine our hearts th^to, and th^t hee might give us favor, q^r hee might tryst our lott.

Saturday the 23^d the Lord was pleased to helpe me to some neernes w^t him in dewtie, in pleading hee might undertake for us, & th^t hee might open our eyes to see our deutie, & th^t w^t much fervencie of spirit.

Munday 3^d Januarij 1683 I gott a missive from my father, & befor reading I boud my selfe befor the Lord (fearing leist th^r should be aney thing in it might troubl me), & desired to plead, th^t q^tever was in it, the Lord wold take the troubl of it from off my minde, in aneything might waiken my hands in dewtie, the q^{ch} I did find Him to doe, & th^r was someq^t in it might have waighted my minde, but my soul was made to rejoyse in the Lord, and at night in dewtie, layeing out my caise upon the seeming neer aproaching troubles, th^t scriptur came to my minde, Psal. 27 & 11, Lead me in a plain paith becaus of myne enemies, then I was made to say Lord, q^t meaneth this coming w^t satisfaction to my soul & yet not a promise, then th^t came sweetlie in my minde, q^tsoever ye aske in my name th^t will I doe, John 14, 13 & 14 v. Th^t same day thes two scriptures was brought in w^t sweetnes to my minde, Psal. 25th & 8th, good & upright is the Lord th^rfor will hee theach sinners in the way, & Isay 63 & 9th, in all th^r afflictiones he was afflicted, &c. Thes gave me some confidence in the former word th^t he wold lead me in a plaine paith.

Tuesday the 4th Janrij 1683 I went to M^r Hog's, & heard him, but mett w^t litle th^t day th^t did afect my heart at the time, but getting my judgment informed in several thinges, I fand advantadg by it the following day, q^rin I had resolvd to take some time apart, to seek th^t the Lord wold clear up my deutie, in my seeming straite, for both by my father's missive, & on from Park, I perceaved I behoved to remove from q^r I now was, becaus of apearing persecution, and in the fors^d morning, the Lord at first helped me to plead for grace to be deulie humbled under the sence & sight of my oune unworthines befor him, upon maney considerationes, & for a brokn heart, to be rightlie exercised, in q^t I was aiming att, & w^t several oth^r reqweists.

The second approach, after layeng out befor him how hee had in his wisdom & marcie, brought me to th^t place, & given me favor in the eyes of his people, & others, to my great incurradgment & advantadg, & trysted me, w^t both spirituall, & temporall marcies, but nou all thes things was lyke to be made much usles to me, in my present strait, & therfor now desired to betake myselfe to him, & plead th^t hee might clear up my dewtie, and undertake for me. Then he brought th^t word into my minde w^t some Authorety, Psal. 50 & 15, And call upon me in the day of troubl & I will deliver the, & thou shalt glorifie me. And then I was made to say (albeit not from my diservings yet freele) Thou haste ingadged thyselfe, to undertake for me, th^rfor desires my waiting eyes may be towards the.

The third time the Lord discovered to me, such a sight of my own sines, & of the guilt of professors in this land, th^t I was much made to justifie the Lord, in seeing we wer farr less punished thⁿ our iniquities deserved, & made to abhor my selfe & others, & to acquiesse to his stroakes, for our dreadfull miscarriages, & made to utter thes words, purge us, purge us o Lord, for in justice thy furie & indignation may rest upon us, till thou consume us, but was desirous the Lord might leave a righteous seed & nott utterlie depairt.

Then meditating a litle it came in my minde th^t if on should aske me q^t clearnes I had attained, I thought I might answer, th^t the Lord had so humbled me under q^t is aforesaid, th^t I was brought to some submission at the time, q^tever hee should doe, w^tall th^t scriptur came in my minde, Gen. 15 & 2^d, q^t wilt thou give me seeing I goe childles, &c. Then I was made to plead to kno the meaning of it to me, then I was helped to consider, th^t nothing seemed to satisfie Araham, seeing hee wanted that he so desired, so th^t albeit I was humbled as aforesaide, yet I should not rest ther but press humble for q^t was my end in coming.

Then the fourth time I came befor him, I fand my selfe straitned q^t to say, & was made to say Lord, if thou think fitt, I shall be silent, then th^t scriptur came in my minde w^t some pouer, Cant: 2^d & 14. Lett me hear thy voice, & thy countenance is comlie. And I was made confidentlie to close th^rw^t, & to rejoyse in the Lord & see much of his marcie & desired

to exalt him th^rfor & w^t much sweetnes upon my minde, was made to think th^r two last scriptures wer given to sturr me up yet more to my deutie.

The fift time I was somq^t solide but straitned in words, but helped to depend in faith, and thocht I fand the Lord swayeng my heart, to desist at th^t time.

I lost a pairt of my Notts heir, being obleidged to leave th^m qⁿ I came from Murray.

Houever some time after the above mentioned I went east to my wife (having bein sore tossed w^t a beiling in my arme by reason of cold after letting of blood, for several dayes) & qⁿ I came to Pluscarden q^r she was I found she was verie unweel, & gone to bed, went to her & after a litle gott ane oth^r chamber my allon, q^r I did resolve nixt day to take some time my alone. And nixt morning earlie I went to a malt barn, q^r I judged I might be most retired, and after going about my ordinary in dewtie, I began to consider of my circomstances, & to beg of the Lord asistance, to lay out my caise befor him, & my ordinary in reading being the 11 of Job: I thought the Lord aplyed w^t efficacie to my minde, thes words in the 13 & 14 verses, if thou prepaire thine heart & stretch out thyn hands towards him, if iniquity be in thyn hand putt it far away, &c. ; then the Lord made th^t sweet also to me in Isay 33^d from the beginning of the 15 verse, he th^t walketh rightiously, &c. &c., 16 verse, he shall dwell on high, his place of defence shall be the munition of rockes, bread shall be given him, his waters shall be sure, & 17 verse, thyne eyes shall see the king in his beutie, &c., & 19 verse, thou shalt not see a fierce people, &c., & 20 verse, from the midle, thyn eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, &c: all thes w^t sweetnes was born in upon my soule, but I did see my heart by natur, lyke the divel's workehoue & my corruptiones as his servants, & was helped w^t much earnestnes & fervencie of minde to plead the Lord wold disposess th^m, w^t th^r maister, & att that time I was much perswaded, th^t hee heard me and rebuked th^m, th^t they might not interrupt my access, but made still as it wer, to see th^m looking back for ane occation to returne, & the Lord still streanthning me to plead th^t he wold helpe to crucifie the workes of the flesh, and then I thought the Lord was directing my minde to

the forsd 14 verse & also the 15 v. of th^t 11th of Jobb, for thⁿ shalt thou lift up thy face w^tout spot, &c., th^t I might be the mor confident of access throu a mediator. Then after a litle meditation I did bou myself again befor him, to bliss & praise his holy name for giving me aney light & confidence in the former scriptures, and desired yet to plead hee might further bliss & asist my waik indevures, then I went and continoued to read on in the 12 of Job, & the Lord broke in w^t light in my minde to aply thes words in the 5th verse (to my oun caise clearly) he th^t is radey to slipe w^t his feet is as a lamp despised in the sight of him th^t is at ease.

So th^t now as I was radey to slipe into difficulties, I did clearly see the affection of maney slackned & cooled, for indeed it was ane ivel time & fear on all, the enemie threatned such hard thinges, so th^t now, the Lord helping me to consider, th^t my caise was so stated as I was at my wits end q^t to doe, seeing I was lyke to be cast off (as it wer) heir, & could see no probabl apearance q^r els to goe, but o praise to him th^t streanthned my minde a litle, by the former scriptures or I gott light in the last. O how good is hee to th^m th^t seeke him, o to waite in faith. Then I was made to say, Lord thou hast given me a rationall minde & I can exercise it no further, (for all doors seemes to be shutt), therfor now Lord I most lay my caise out befor thee, for I ame at a straite, & cane doe no mor, if thou help not, & of free grace thou hast ingadged thyself by promise, to undertake for me, its trew if thou marke iniquitie who can stand, then he seemd to back home th^t in the 13 vers., with the antient is wisdom & in leanth of dayes is understanding, w^t him is wisdom & streanth, hee hath council & understanding. Now I was made to see all thes thinges aplicabl only to the Lord himselfe, & did lett me see my dewtie only was to wait on, plead w^t, & rely upon himselfe, who could suplie in all my wants, & deliver in all my distresses, & this sweetlie calmed my minde in some measur, & was helped to plead for grace, & streanth, from him in a back look to thes formentioned scriptures (but alace qⁿ the Lord intimates we should waite, unbelife sayes th^r is no time, ye most be at a point, & trewlie th^r wanted not carnall reasons to back this my circumstances was such, & so maney difculties & dangers befor me,

th^t the Lord had maney things to tell me, but I was not able to bear a vew of th^m, it was aneugh if I gott helpe from step to step as the difficulties came, but it seemd the Lord did see a need be to force me out of th^t place, to q^{ch} my affectiones wer severall wayes ingadged, but both freinds, fear of themselves, & of me, made th^m wish me out of th^t, for Siddie McKeanzie ¹ w^t his companie of foot was coming north to putt the Laus (q^{ch} wer iniquous) to vigorous execution by militarie force.

I desired to plead he wold clear up my way, & I thocht I wan to some submission to his will, to goe q^rever he cald me, if hee wold goe w^t me, butt oh, th^r is oft a fla in our faith, and also in our submision. I desired to lay out severall places befor him butt still no clearnes q^r to goe, but only to himselve, & rely, plead, & waite. Friday, March 6th 1683, I went west from Pluscarden, & th^r providences seemed to concur, th^t I could not stay in th^t place. And th^t qⁿ I brought my caise to the Lord, if I should go abroad, the seas wer all as it wer presented to my minde dark w^t mistes & qⁿ I thought of goeing south, it was lyke my setting my face to run on a naked sword, as it wer, & yet th^r I could not stay, q^{ch} made me linger to the outmost.

Saturday the 7th the Lord made the 8th chap: of Dewter: sweet to me & a pairt of the 9th, but oh q^t stagring at the promises through unbelief, in the thoughts of my dangerous circumstances, tho the Lord, was, & is faithfull in all his promises, even to me. I was much troubled to leave th^t place tho the Lord had been severall wayes lousing me th^rfrom. Upon Munday the 9th day I was helped to lay out my caise againe befor the Lord, who I thought gave me a sight of maney of my diculties, concerning my waygoing, & tooke much of the burthin from off me. O the goodnes of th^t God we have to doe w^t & his condescendance to unworthie, unbelieving me,

¹ Kenneth Mackenzie of Siddie; he obtained, March 27, 1683, a commission for the county of Nairn, to punish persons who withdrew from public ordinances, etc. He had previously held one for the counties of Ross and Cromarty. A Morayshire correspondent of Wodrow describes him as the persecutor of 'a great many honest people,' and adds, 'He made an unhappy end, being killed by Coil Macdonald.'

who notw^tstanding of maney promises and incurradgments yet still staggering disconsolat too, too much alace th^rfor, butt o praise, praise to free grace. And on Wednesday the 11th day I went east to Pluscarden¹ againe and in some few dayes th^rafter mett w^t severale things as it were forcing me out of th^t place, first two off Siddie M^cKeanzies centinals were coming to my mother in lau her hous, as was thoght, & a boy came running in & told it & I was suddanly advertised th^rof, & coming doun staires, I putt on the boyes bonnet & slipt out towards ane old Abacie² th^t was hard by. And qⁿ I was th^r I thought fitt to slipe in to ane old voutl & deliberat q^t to doe. I was but a litl time th^r till the two souldiers came to the door of th^t same voutl, & righted the workes of ther muscots, but that place of the voutl was dark q^r I was, th^t they saw not me, but I them, & I putt my hand upon my cravat leist it had apeared white & discovered me, but they went away, & in a litl th^rafter a servant maide of my mother-in-law's came to the door q^r I was, & I cald to her & asked q^r the souldiers wer. She told they wer gon in to a chaing hous. I desired her qwicklie to be gone, & in a litl I resolved to goe out & walked straight forward from the house, & I was hardly well out till the souldiers came after me, but I resolved to keep them att some distance & walked forward about a myle & they still coming after me, at leanth I did cast a hill betwixt th^m & me & returned ane other way.

The thing th^t made me more concerned at this time was, some dayes befor blist M^r Hoge had sent his godlie servant W^m Ballach, seven or eight myles express, to desire me, to take caire of my selfe, for my Lord Doun & Kilroack³ w^t some oth^{rs} at a botle in Kilroake's hous, Doun was heard by the servant th^t was serving th^m, to swear th^t if I was in Murray he should

¹ The ruins of Pluscarden Abbey still form one of the most attractive sights in Morayshire. The house here referred to as in their neighbourhood has, I think, disappeared. Pluscarden was purchased in 1687 by Brodie of Lethen for his grandson Grant of Grant, who sold it in 1710 to Duff of Dipple, whose descendant, Lord Fife, still possesses it.

² Originally one of the three Cistercian Monasteries in Scotland, but subsequently occupied by Benedictines. *Vide* the Rev. Mr. Macphail's elaborate work on Pluscarden.

³ Rose of Kilravock.

secure me in prison, q^{ch} I was not willing of, seeing thⁿ ther was nothing for me but death or sinfull complance.

I had reason to bliss the Lord th^t severals of the godlie wer concerned in lifting up a prayer to the Lord upon my account, o praise to his holy name.

Upon Wednesday the eightin, I tooke my jurney south, and albeit w^t some reluctancie, yet the Lord was not wanting to me in the way, only upon Saturday crossing at Dundie I was cast in companie w^t on of the king's Herolds, q^{ch} was unpleasant to me but I made the best of it I could, & qⁿ we lighted tho I could not drinck so weel, yet I was frank in payeng q^{ch} I saw pleased him weel.

We was benighted att Kennaway and after supper the Herold saide he thought we might ryde too Kirkaldie nixt morning to hear sermon, & albeit it stund me to travel on sabboth yet considering our qwaters was hard at the Kirk th^r & I might be notticed if I went not, q^{ch} I had not freedom to doe, we might ventur forward, & some gentl shift might be made, so I sd to him, thⁿ lett us clear our reckning, th^t we have nothing to doe in Saboth morning but take our horses, he replyed then they will call us whiges, and I ansred wee wold be soon up & it was not fitt thⁿ to trubl our hostess, & so we cleared & nixt morning, tooke our horses early ; & now I was feared for carnall discourse on the Lord's day, & so boarded him w^t some uncontroverted spiritual discourse, q^{ch} did so take, th^t wee fell to be so serious th^t tho we both had knouledg of the way, yet we went a considerable space out of it, before we notticed, & coming to Kirkaldie, Pathhead, he sd he had a brother lived th^r, & kepted a chaing & hee thoght we might breakfast th^r & goe from th^t to the Kirk att Kirkaldie. I was willing to light, but in stead of a brother as I expected he was a brother messanger at armes only, q^{ch} was yet mor undesirabl, but I caried as pleasant as possibl, and after breakfast I s^d I thoght I was wearie w^t travel, th^rfor wold lett the kirk alon for a day, he replyed, & so wold he. So after a litl taking my bibl privatlie & seeing a barn in the yeard I called for the key th^{of}, and went to it, & injoyed my selfe in such dewties as was most fitt for th^t day, & wan to some seriousness in reading, prayer & meditation, but alase, being

too desirous to kno my way, began to be too peremptor w^t the Lord, & he w^ddrew, & left Satan to buffet me, & to present to my minde as if I wer a hanged man, I perceaved it to be of Satan & labored to plead w^t the Lord to rebuke the tentation, but yet some tincktur of it remained & begotte some confusion in my minde.

Upon Munday the 23^d we went on our way to Kinghorn, q^r we crossed, & so soon as the boat tutcht at Leith, I went out in hast & left my herold, & saw him no more. I now having left Murray had maney grounds to bliss & praise him th^t ever I went ther, for albeit for some time befor I left it, the Lord thought fitt sherplie to exercise me in severall thinges, yet I most say hee made me sing ther as in the dayes of the youth of my Espusals, & gave me maney a sweet hour, & tho hee had led me to the wildernes, yet he spock confortablie to me ther, & did lett me some times see th^t the reason off all my troubles was to purg me & take away my sin, & th^t experience might worke patience & patience hope. And o how maney sweet promises did the Lord aply to my soul, & hou much blist & confortabl fellouship w^t his people & hou much favor & kindnes did I meet w^t from all, & the Lord was pleased to bliss the labor of my hands, in th^t I had under my caire & chaigr: o wonderfull was his kindnes & marcie to me in th^t place. The Lord was w^t me & made all my freinds, but oh hou oft did ane ivel heart of unbelief prevaile, but praise to him th^t tooke not away his marcie & kindnes from me.

Now having comd to Edinburgh the 23 of March 1683, and being setld th^r, & getting some time my alon, it pleased the Lord to pitie me, in keeping me in some measur at my duty, having yet some waightie thoughts of my caise, but w^t some solid peace through access to him: desiring much hee might helpe me to faith in Christ th^t might worke by love, & cast out fear.

The 29th being the Lord's day, I had much straitnednes in my minde till it was neer night. Then it pleased the Lord to affect my heart so w^t my present caise, as to flee to himselfe for reliefe. I was made to see the sea as it wer befor, enemies behind, & mountanes on everie side. Then I was made to say nou Lord thow art concerned to helpe but w^t all the Lord was

helping me to be much humbled under the sense of my own sin & relationes guilt, in seeing hee might justlie contend. Yet I thought at th^t time, he helped me w^t all my soule, heart & streanth in much fervencie of spirit, to plead for relieffe, according to his holy will. Then th^t word was brought to my minde, Isay 56 & 7th, even th^m will I bring to my holy muntain & make th^m joyfull in my hous of prayer. Then I was helped to plead for the Church, & th^t word came to my minde, Judg : 10 & 16, letter pairt. And his soul was grieved for the misery of Israel. Then I was made to fear delusion & th^t thes Scriptures wer not given to me at th^t time of the Lord, then I was helped to plead, I might not be left to delusion, but if they wer to me, Hee might confirme my soul in the confidence of th^m, & th^t word came in w^t setlment to my soul, Titus 1 & 2^d latter pairt, q^{ch} God th^t cannot lie, promised befor the world began. Oh the root of unbelieve th^{ts} in us. Then I was afrayed of misguiding of the Lord's kindness, as I had often found I had done in such lyke caises to my sad experience, & I was helped to plead the Lord wold helpe me to watch & pray & fear befor him, leist I should sitt down on such intimationes of kindnes, & be given up to carnall securetie ; o how hard is it sometimes to rid marches betwixt trusting and securetie, but blist be God, th^t he hes sent the Lord Jesus Christ to be a leader to his people, th^t will never leave them nor forsake th^m.

My wife came from the north to me to Edb^r the 30 of Aprile. And all th^t week it pleased the Lord to keep my soule in much peace, in rejoycing in himselfe & his way off dealing w^t me, till neer the end off it, thⁿ began some damps, but the Lord was pleased not to lett th^m stay long, albeit I was made to see I was not abl to bear the burthine my selfe, so th^t sometimes I was helped to come to him for fresh supplies of his grace to streanthn & support me under my present tryels, so th^t to the 13th of Maj I was sometimes confortd, sometimes discurradgments prevailed, but still kepted in exercise w^t the darknes of my pr^t lott, th^t to doe or q^r to goe, & I wanted not the simpathie of some trewlie godlie in th^t mater w^t me, which had its own incurradgment. And about this time, freinds thought our chamers a litle to solitarie & not so convenient, &

th^rfor advised to ane other, & wold have me see it, the q^{ch} I did, & told the mistres I wold send my wife also. And qⁿ I was come home, told my wife I had promised she should goe see it also, but I desired to consider weel, for qⁿ I was looking it, th^r came a damp on my minde, the q^{ch} she averted unto, but the mistris was so condescending, she could hardly gett free. And on M^r Dundass,¹ after Laird of Dundass, tooke it, and wⁱⁿ some few nights th^rafter was taken by a pairty o the Tounes guard, but giving the centinals money they lett him slip off.

And th^t same night, the pairtie came to the foot of the stair q^r I was, & our Land Ladey cald me if I was sleeping, I answered nott, she told me th^r was a pairtie searching at hand, hard by, I aske q^t wold she have me doe. She replied, putt on my cloathes & go to the streat & after a litle silence I sd no I was in the hands of the Lord, & wold abide th^r, but if I went to the street I might fall into the hands of men. And the pairtie, coming to the nixt house and I hearing them, rose up, & putt my sword & wige in a chist, & th^r being only a thine partition betwixt the pairtie & me, I did see th^m w^t the light candles they had, but they could not see me in the darke. I did see th^m search so narrolie, & to turn ane old woman out of her bed & then turn out the bedclothes also, & search under them. Then wⁱⁿ a litle they went off & tooke the Landlord a wright or measson w^t th^m. All this whill my minde was prettie composed, but qⁿ they wer gon, & I in bed again, I fell a trembling, th^t I might see as my saftie was of the Lord, so I had no streanth in myselfe, but need of continuall fresh supplies from the Lord himselfe.

Nixt day I fand our Landladey in great fear & averse th^t we should stay th^r, so we wer necessitat to seek a new quarter, & knew not wher, but it pleased the Lord marcifully to provide, for Magdalen Pypper, mistris of the old Coffilious,² a kind & pious freind, tooke us home to a chamber in her hous till we should advise.

¹ James Dundas, brother of the laird of Dundas, had in 1670 been sentenced to transportation to the plantations for being present at a conventicle. This sentence, however, does not seem to have been carried out.

² The first coffee-house in Edinburgh seems to have been in Robertson's Land, and was opened in 1673. But it was closed in 1677.



And then seeing ther was no apearance I could stay in saftie ther att Eddr. after severall assayes to seek counsell from the Lord, both by us & others fearing God, it was thocht fitt, I wold assay going to Holland, butt seeing th^r was such narrou nottice taken of persones going th^r from this coast, it was thocht fitt to goe to Berwick & thence to Newcastle, q^r I wold not so be knouen. And th^rfor I gott some letters of recommendation to some freinds at Berwick & to desire th^m if it wer w^t th^r conveniency to gett me some recommendation to Newcastle, th^t I might take shipping th^r. O to observe how his wayes are wonderfully linked through deficulties tending to marcies, & assured loving kindnes to all his oun. O to believe.

Then the Thursday Maij 24th 1683, taking my leave of wife and freinds (no doubt but w^t maney thoghts of heart, considering the dangers of the time, & had but litle money to leave w^t my wife, & but litle to take with me) I tooke my journey for Berwick, not knouing on foot of the way & not haveng aney th^t I had aney acquaintance w^t th^r qⁿ I came.

But the Lord marcifullly trysted me att worthie James Baram his hous at the Abey of Hadingtoun, to q^m I had a lyne of recommendation from worthie M^{ris} Ross, w^t two honest professors in my oun circomstances in pairt, th^t wer going th^r also, but on foot. So after some thoghts, resolved to send back my horse & travel w^t th^m & they wer so kind as to cary my linnings, so th^t tho my journey this way was toylsome yet less irksome thⁿ I expected, for w^t much cheerfulness, we went on our way, for they both knew the way, & freinds in it, q^r we lodged nixt night & kindly intertained. And nixt morning being the 26th we went on pleasantly, & at night came to Berwick. And getting quarters th^r in a countrie Scotsman's hous & being Saturdayes night, I ordered the deliverie of some of my letters of recommendation. And being others in the chamber w^t me th^t came alongs, I rose early nixt morning & went up to ane hay loft for some time, & coming down the Landlord told me th^r was on M^r David Clunis to preach a litl w^tout the Toun in a barn, & I might goe w^t him, if I pleased, & the minister being on to q^m I was recommended, I the more willinglie went, q^r qⁿ I came (qther by some aprehensions of my Landlord, q^{ch} I judg or othrwyes, but they tooke me to be a

minister) they delivered to me the key of a barn, q^{ch} I willingly accepted off for a time, & returned again to ane hous q^r others wer, & th^r arising some feares upon th^m, I reasoned w^t th^m th^ranent q^{ch} made th^m the more aprehend as formerlie, & after fornoones sermon was ended, M^r David desired me to take the afternoon, at q^{ch} I pleasantlie smyled & told him I was not in circomstances for th^t, & so he rested satisfied.

Munday 28 M^r Clunis & I mett & he desired me to goe see a friend w^t him, about two myles distant, & a pleasant walke, to q^{ch} I agreed, & wee did not return till the 31 being Thursday, q^r we came to the same hous, being ane honest fled ¹ Scotsman's hous called James Reston, q^r we gott the newes th^t Earlston ² and ane other Scots gentleman wer both seased aboard of a shipe att Newcastle, going for Holland, & th^t they wer to be sent prisoners to Scotland, & th^t ther was orders stricklie to nottice straingers, & s^d I could not goe in again to Berwick. And honest M^r Reston intreated me to stay w^t him till I advised, q^{ch} offer necessaty made me willingly accept off.

Now the Saboth befor spockn off, all th^t day I was much incurradged in my minde, the Lord keeping up his peace in it, & making straingers to carie respectivlie & kindlie, th^t week I wanted not my oun discurradging fits in thoughts of my caise, espetially qⁿ I got the fors^d newes, yet alwayes mixed w^t intimations of kindnes from the Lord.

Saturday Junij 2^d 1683 I was made to observe the great marcie of the Lord, in leading me out off Toun, befor the newes came, & in giving me some acquaintance in the countrie, & I hope not only a kind Landlord but trewly pious. Saboth nixt the 3^d the Lord was pleased to asist me in pleading w^t him, yet under sense of much unworthines in myselfe, & feare of waiknes, but w^t much complacencie in my minde, & in love to the Lord.

So having stayed about eight dayes in Mr. Restone's, I desired q^t I had to pay for my bed & board, he ansred nothing, q^{ch} surprised me for I knew he could not weel doe it, so I told

¹ *I.e.*, one who like himself had been obliged to leave Scotland.

² The Gordons of Earlston were a well-known Covenanting family. William was killed while hastening to the assistance of his party at Bothwell Bridge, at which battle his son (probably the Earlston referred to in the text) was present.

him then I could not stay, & so layed down some money & went out & went to see the freind I had formerly gon to see, w^t Mr. Clunis, & stayed a night, but prest in my minde to return againe to M^r Restone's, the q^{ch} nixt day I did, & spock to him, th^t he might the more expose me, if he forced me to goe from him, seeing I could not stay if he wold not take, for my bed & board, q^{ch} w^t the tear in his eye he condescended to doe, & so I stayed & still gott the key of the barn I first gott for my retirement.

Thursday the 7th I was made to have great desires for some neernes & access to the Lord, finding my spirit dull & sensles as it wer: and it pleased the Lord to helpe me to plead for several thinges I did see myselfe standing in need off, but was made to loath myselfe becaus of sin, & securetie. But th^t day & the nixt I was helped to have my heart going out in sympathie w^t th^m the Lord had made maney times to sympathis w^t me in my wildernes condition, & w^t both the famelies I was nixt related unto, even for marcie to th^r soules. But at that time my heart was sore greived w^t the simplicity of some Christianes & the carnalety of some professors in the place q^r I was. Albeit I hop hee gave me acquaintance w^t some twenty fearing the Lord, q^{ch} was my comfort. Saboth the 10th I wan to litl freedome, but helped to incurradg myself in the Lord.

Munday morning I was helped to much sweetnes in my minde in deuty, for a litle time.

Tuesday the 12th I did take some more time in the morning thⁿ my ordinarie, & it pleased the Lord to be condescending, to my great satisfaction. And th^t night after I went to bed, I could gett no sleep for a long time, but w^t much solidnes of minde made to plead w^t and receve satisfaction from the Lord, w^t much tendernes & melting of heart. O th^t I could praise him for his goodnes & marcie.

Then till Saturday the 16 I had my caise intermixed w^t several waightie & somq^t discourradging thoughts pairtlie from things w^tout & pairtlie from things w^tin, alienating the heart from the Lord, but upon th^t afternoon, it pleased the Lord to discover some particular corrptione q^{ch} made me through grace, take a littl back looke of some thinges q^rby I was made much to loath & abaise myselfe, & so helped me to pleade

untill he was pleased to intimate himselfe reconcieled, & gave me access & intimations of acceptance befor him, more thⁿ my ordinarie.

And the nixt day being Saboth the 17th hee was pleased to give me much peace, in seeminglie honoring me to be usfull to others in my convers. Some time after it pleased the Lord to lett me see that his permitting my father to carie so unkindlie to me in some things, was becaus of my unsuitabl cariadg in some thing befor him & others, after the Lord had manifested his marcie & kindnes first unto my soule, & it was som what refreshing to me, th^t he shewed me why hee contended & helped me to plead for repentance & forgivnes in hopes of marcie. And from thence to the 26th I was much in a mixed caise, sometimes getting access, & sometimes strainglie assaulted w^t unbeliefe & discurradgments, & my minde too much overcome in intertaining the same, off q^{ch} being made sensible, did some-qt affect my minde, & lett me see great ground off abaisement in me.

Nou about this time also the Church being sore att under, by opression th^t maney wer putt to ther wits end (as we use to say) I was made to be somqt concerned in the thoghts th^{of}. And I remembered th^t it had pleased the Lord, some considerabl time befor, to give me a verie humbling & terribl sight of my own sines, & the Churches, as the procuring cause of the Lord's displeasur against us, and I was made to think, th^t seeing the Lord had humbled me, under the sight & sence of our guilt; that he wold also helpe me to plead in hopes of marcie from himselfe, & this 26th at night, I was desiring to sett apairt some while of the nixt day for th^t effect, and the nixt morning being the 27th I was (of his marcie) helped w^t some composure of spirit & arguments, to plead th^t he wold favour his people, & then I was desirous to plead th^t he wold guid me to reade somqt suitabl th^rto, & from someqt I mett w^t the former night I thoght the Lord did inclyne my minde to the 28th of Isaij q^r first I did see intimations of the Lord's anger, & th^t he wold yet more toss and humble us, till the 5th verse beginning w^t thes words, wo to the crowne of pride, to the drunkard off Ephraime, &c.

And also his spirit aplyeng, gave me some hopes of a glorious

deliverie from the 5th verse to the 7th. In th^t day shall the Lord of hosts be for a croun of glorie, & for a Diadem of beutie unto the residue of his peopl, and for a spirit of judgment to him th^t sitteth in Judgment, & for streanth to him th^t turneth the battel to ye gate. The Lord I thought gave me also instruction from several pairts of th^t chap: & the Lord gave me much light w^t solid confidence, through faith in Christ, as to its aplication to our present caise, & as to the maner how, tho not as to the time when.

Now by this exercise it pleased the Lord to putt such a stampe of his Image & presence upon my soule, th^t untill th^t day eight dayes (q^{ch} was the 4th off July) I could never say, I came befor the Lord, but by faith I gott som discoverie of him in his bewtie, in much solidnes of spirit.

Now my spuse being left at Edb^r, q^r the Lord to wean her it seemes from th^t pleace, left her to much fear and terror of the enemie, so th^t the sight of a souldier or the noyse of a drume was afrighting to her, and I frustrat of all hopes how to gett to Holland had destroyed my letters of recomendation, and did see no other way but to lurke heir incognito as long as possibl, for we wer putt almost everie night in fear of pairties to search & apprehend persones in my circomstances. And some fled for fear on way & some ane other, & some shortlie after wer taken. Therfor seeing no way q^r to goe, & considering my spouses solitarie lott, I sent for her, & upon the 3^d July she came to Castilhiles, neer Berwick, & qⁿ she came I was about two myles thence, q^r my landlord & I had bein lyeng in the fealds all night for fear of the enemie. And a young man a freind came earlie to me nixt morning & told my spuse was come, & albeit my circomstances wer such yet I was glade to have such a companion in tribulation, who I was confident wold be dewlie affected w^t me in all my concernes. And then to the 10th day I gott not such access, but yet had much satisfieing sweetnes in my minde.

Upon the 10th day I heard th^t my father was to compeer att Edb^r, therfor thoght fitt to sett some time of th^t day apart in his behalfe, and desired my spuse & ane other th^t I had some confidence in to sympathies w^t me on his account.

About this time, & a litle befor, the winde blouing faire on

my sailes, my deceitfull heart began to whisper it was easie to belive & to serve the Lord.

But the Lord it seemes, thocht fit (to my sore experience) to teach me th^t it was needful for me to understand th^t he ought to be acknoledged for all marcies of th^t kind, even to a right thought of himselfe. And for a considerabl time th^rafter my bodey was sore brockn by a winde in my stomock, q^rby my spirit was oftn discomposd, albeit the Lord was nou & then giving me some faith to belive & rejoyce in him.

About this time on day the Lord helping me to plead in behalfe off the Church, & in expressing thes words, Am: 7th & 2:5, By q^m shal Jacob arise, for hee is small, thes words w^t much satisfaction was broght to my minde th^t ar spokn of Christ, Isay 49th & 6th, It is a light thing for the to be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob & to preserve the ransomed of Israel &c.

From the fors^d 10th day, to the first of August, for the maist pairt I was under sore distractiones & confusions in my minde. And about this time my spuse becam w^t child, and was exceeding sick, & so continoued for maist pairt until she was delivered, q^{ch} had its oun difficulties considering we stayed in ane other man's hous q^r we had not the conveniencie of a chamber our alon & attended w^t severall other waighty circumstances: tho indeed the Lord made the famelie kinde to the outmost of th^r pouer, praise to him th^rfor, & we have evidenced our gratitude in some measure since to th^m. And also th^r was a sounde off destruction at th^t time to all th^t desired to oppose th^mselves to impietie (in aney measure) so th^t it was a vexation only to hear the report & also then I had often confused thoughts off guilt, still marring my confidence befor the Lord, increassing to the hight of great unbeliefe, so th^t through the distemper of both bodey & minde both wer lyke to faile.

But now about the forsaid first off August, it pleased the Lord, of his infinit marcie, & tender caire, even in the sorest distress, to give some sweet influences of his spirit into my soul, & to lett me see some causes of his permitting me to be in such ane caise. The first was to reprove me of my former follie in not seeing his former kindnes to my soul, whollie of free grace & marcie flouing from himself & th^t of myself I could

doe nothing good w^tout his constant waterings from his infinit fountan of all fulnes, & th^t my deceitfull heart having often formerly made me have such thoghts of easines to belive, so th^t yet once more I might have the experience of my folly that way: to be as a beakn to one heirefter. Secondlie, I was made to see th^t somtimes it was easier to be kepted at dewtie, both in behalfe of the Church & ourselves, qⁿ troubl was not comd to extremetie, qⁿ in the midst off terrors, & made to fear I had been to negligent befor the tryel came to this hight.

Thirdlie, th^t I might kno a litle of the waight of th^t affliction q^{ch} others had been longer under, th^t I might be the more stirred up to simpathies, w^t others in such a caise.

Fourtlie, that if ever I should be trysted w^t more freedom & libertie, I might be made the mor to pryse the same, w^t thankfulness for it, to the Lord. Nou albeit I did get some intimated kindnes then, & finding melancholie seasing on me, did by reading, walking, & in tyme of hay working w^t others, yet what through former distempers, & want of accomodation, th^r remained much confusion upon my minde, & seeming distance from the Lord, and the sines of my youth oft staring me as it wer in the face, espetially three: first, the breach of Sabothes & others. Secondlie, some unsuitablnes in my cariadg, befor & to parents. Thirdlie, some particular follies in my youth. The which three I was made to look unto, from the Lord's threatening me w^t roddes, which seemd to me to carie the stamp & image of all the forsaide sines, & by this I was made to learn, th^t persons may meet w^t intimations of peace, & pardon for sines as to th^r eternal punishment, qⁿ not as to th^r temporal chastisement. And therfor albeit a person may win to the full assurance of eternall salvation, yet no ground of security. And also about the 18th of this month of August I was made to see four thinges, and

First, seldome sound peace in the want of sound submision to the will of God.

Secondlie, often teares ar deceitful when the heart is not tutched with the deep sens of sin.

Thirdlie, its hard to keep grace in exercise among carnal freinds & professors.

Fourtlie, th^t the sight of all thes things was the return of prayer, q^{ch} had bein made in my darknes. Therfor albeit we

gett not a suddan answer, yet ther is ground to waite. Then to the beginning of Septe^r I was under maney sore discouradgements & perplexing thoghts, my spuse being still sicke. But about th^t time the Lord was pleased much to calme my spirit, & helpe me to someq^t of the faith of his omnipresence and to plead as in his presence, & o but in darknes the leist light is sweet. From the first of Septe^r for a considerabl time, the Lord was pleased to keep up the faith of his omnipresence in my pleadings w^t him & therby I wan to some solidnes of minde in pleading w^t him for suplie to my present necessaties, yet under several perplexaties through the darknes of dispensationes, both as to my oun, the Churches caise & others, under so maney sad circomstances.

About the midst of October the Lord was pleased to give me some refreshing libertie to plead w^t him.

Now the first of November our dear & worthie freind Mr Thomas Hog, who was out of prison upon bond to ans^r the Councill att call, as formerlie related, and th^rfor judged ourselves bound to simpathise w^t him, was then to apear befor them. And I having sett some time apairt thⁿ for th^t end, I was helped from maney arguments to hold up his caise.

Nou from this to the 8th of Febrij 1684 the Lord was verie condescending to me oft in dewtie, in helping me to plead for high & right conceptiones of himselfe & his wayes, & hearing my desires & granting the same, to my great confort & satisfaction, & yet about th^t time, some things wer verie dark, as to my outward condition, q^{ch} in a litle begot some confusion in my minde, so th^t several times, th^r arose secret frettings and quarrelings to such a hight as I had not been tryed w^t the lyke for several yeares befor. About this time my body was sore brockn several wayes. In the end of this monneth I resolved to ventur in to Morum¹ in Scotland, & was desirous to plead for the Lord's presence to be w^t me, being to visit my cussing Patrick Young of Bridghous² and his spuse who wer w^t oth^{rs}

¹ A parish in East Lothian.

² John Nimmo of Bridghous, Nimmo's grandfather, had married a daughter of Young of Killicantie. From papers in possession of the family of Gillan of Wallhouse, Linlithgowshire, it appears that in 1636 a contract of division of the mains of Brighous was entered into between John Nymmo of Brighous and Patrick Young of Killicantie.

th^r hidnly, in pretending to be for the work of Newmilnes¹ manufactorie, & did worke th^rat.

And it pleased the Lord to helpe me in my journey to eye his glorie, the good of others & my oun peace in him, to the confort of my heart. O his pittie & marcie to poor trachled sinners. O for faith & patience.

Upon the 11th of March amongst severall other thinges, the Lord helped me much to be concernd w^t my faither's caise, & upon the 12th hee helped me much againe to be concerned w^t the same, and considering his sad compliyanse w^t the sinfull courses of the time, & my soul being much pressede under the sense of the same, I was made to say, Lord, as if hee wer a dead carkass or corps throu the vilnes of sin, al I can do is to desire to cast him upon thee, th^t if so be it may consist w^t thy glory to save him, if not thy will be done. And in the verie meantime th^t scriptur came in my minde, 2 King: 13th & 21, And qⁿ the dead bodey of the man was lett down & toutched the bones of Elisha, he revied & stooode up on his feet. This brought much confort & incurradgment from the thoghts th^t the Lord Jesus was of more vertiow then the bones of Elisha & th^r came a perswading pouer w^t it th^t it was of the Lord for my incurradgment.

Nou all alonges this winter we had bein much troubled q^r to setle or how to be accomodat for my wife's deliverie, haveing small conveniencies q^r we wer in a cottadg of ane other man's, but could never gett clearnes q^t to doe, providences seeminglie still crossing our inclinationes to several places we did intend for, some times in the bounds of Berwick & some times in the same toun itselke, but it pleased the wise Lord to order it so, th^t we wer still kepted in exercise, in pleading w^t & looking to the Lord: albeit in much darknes as to the outgate.

Then at leanth drauing neer the time of her deliverie, & finding nether freedom nor conveniencie aney other way, we then resolved to setle ourselves & stay, & th^t with some complacencie in submission to the will of the Lord, & as ability & conveniencie wold allou, made radey for q^t her aproaching caise seemd to call for.

¹ Ayrshire.

But then the marcifful Lord was condescending in several various circomstancies of marcie unexpectedlie, for our dear & worthie freind M^r Hoge was banished by Act of Councile, to be out of the kingdom off Scotland in fourtieight houres time under severe penalties; they indeed offered him six weekes to provide for his banishment, if hee wold give bond as some had done not to exercise aney pairt of his ministerial function during th^t time. He told th^m it was lyke, being under much frailnes of body, he wold not be able, but seeing he had his Comission from God, he wold not bind up himselfe on houer if the Lord called him & gave him streanth, and th^rfor so litl time was alloued him. So he caused a coach (agreed for) come to the Tolbooth dore, & take him in & upon Aprile 3 he came to Berwick to the great confort of our mindes & q^{eh} also revived our fraile bodies, even he q^m oftentimes the good Lord had made ane instrument formerly to speak words in season to us when in trouble, both as to spirituales & temporales. And q^t marcie was it to us th^t the Lord in his providence should order his coming, q^r we wer att such a time, qⁿ we wer so disconsolat.

O th^t the infinitlie compassionat Lord may help us to exalt him togither & to say hee hath helped, hee helps, & hee will helpe; & lett us only belive.

Secondlie, we wer trysted w^t a duelling hous unexpectedlie neer to this our dear freindes house.

Thirdlie, th^t tho we had litle furnitur of our own yet we wer marciffully provided for.

Fourthlie, we had not only the marcie of my wife's intimat freind Mistris Hoge, but also severall others of some notte of our own land, and others of th^t place, who wer both freindlie & simpathising in her caise. Fiftlie, the only midwife she desired was nyn or ten myles distant, & we had but small hopes to attaine our desire th^rin, & yet providence brought her to us two dayes befor my wife was brought to bed of her eldest son John, and albeit she had bein for most pairt sick since she conceived, & her body very low, & had very hard labour, yet the Lord marciffully supported her in her paings, till at lenth she qwat al hopes & then the Lord was a present helpe in her extremetie & gave deliverance the 18 day of Aprile 1684. Sixtlie, a chist w^t cloathes came from the north only

about three dayes or she was delivered, q^{ch} came verie seasonable.

7^{ly}. Eightlie,¹ the Lord was pleased to give her aboundance of milke for the child beyound the expectation of some.

Eightlie, on newly godly & dearly beloved of her intimat acquaintance, came by providence from Edb^r to th^t place to us; q^{ch} was incuraging. And 9thlie, qⁿ all our money was spent except about on shill. ster. th^t four dolers my spuse had lent a freind came to our hand seasonable.

And 10thlie, the only woman she desired to wait upon her, tho with some difficultie, was obtained.

O hou may we see th^t its good to waite for the Lord, who sometimes hides himself from the hous of Jacob. Now my heart was greatlie confortd under the sense of the Lord's dealing so kindlie w^t us in maney thinges: & I made to bliss & praise him as I could, but oh oure goodnes soon evanisheth as the early cloud & the morning dew. For w^tin a litle I became fraile in my bodie & after taking of phisick, it was sore brockn, the q^{ch} had its own influence on my spirit, for some time, as also I was affected w^t the dreadfull threatnings of the Lord's anger against thir lands, & the lamentabl miscariadges of professors. But it pleased the Lord to assist my dear freind M^r Hoge much to simpathise w^t me, and upon the 11th of Maij he was helped w^t much conservednes to give me his advice, by incurradging me & holding out grounds of comfort both as to my soule, & bodelie condition.

Upon the 13th day he spokke upon his ordinarie, & albeit I went brockn th^r, the Lord was so kind to my soule that qⁿ I came away, I thought I was wholl in soul & bodie.

Upon the sixtinday M^r Hog baptisd my son & spokk upon his ordinary w^t convincing evidences of the Lord's presence. And two dayes befor he was much asisted in his ordinar in the famelie, to the vew of some, it was upon the 8th of Luke, even to the great comfort both of myselfe & others.

Thence to the ij of Junij the Lord was marcifull to me everie way. Upon the q^{ch} day I had sett some time apairt to seek counsel from the Lord, if I might goe somq^r in the country

¹ *Sic* in MS.

for my health & divertisment, or els th^t he wold lead me as the blind. Some others wer concerned th^rin w^t me, and that night I had some thoghts to goe the nixt day w^t blist Mistris Ross (who was th^r at this time) to the Abey of Hadingtoun to worthie James Baram's. And th^t night q^{ch} was to be notticed, th^r was some stirr in the toun. And I seeing providence concurring in severall circomstances, I went w^t her & stayed th^r & att Morum w^t my forsd freind M^r Young, and th^rabout, neer twentie dayes. And the Lord seemed to oune me, in being free & faithfull in some measure to others, w^t peace in my minde & they not seeming to be offended, albeit I was sherpe to them, fearing ther resting upon fals confidences & unsaffe groundes & hopes for life & salvation, not rightlie understanding the need of trew humiliation under the sense of particular sines, as also the need of the Lord's revealing to us by his word & spirit the will of God for our salvation.

The 30th of Junij I returned to Berwick and stayed ther some dayes, but upon severall considerationes thought fitt to return q^r I had been, danger apearin then to stay in Berwick. And upon the 10th of July I returned to Morum, & I hope as I ventured not w^tout seeking councill, so the Lord cleared up my dewtie th^rin.

Upon the 12th at night the Lord was verie condescending to me, in giving me the solid faith of being in his presence, & then helped me to pour out my heart to him, w^t some tendernes, q^{ch} proved not only confortin but streanthning.

Upon the 15th I got much freedom, w^t some sweetnes, in convers w^t some th^r. Upon the 17th I gott a missive from my wife shouing some necessatie for my return. And desiring to acknowledge the Lord in seeking council, unbelieve brock in & the divel & my corrupt heart began to say, ye are tossed, go back & stay ye kno the outmost, but thⁿ finding my corruptiones working in want of sweet complacencie in depending upon the Lord, desired to be abased th^rfor & lament & yet to pleade for pitie from him, who notw^tstanding of my guilt, heard & directed. O q^t wonder is it hee beares so w^t us.

Upon the 24th I returned to Berwick and after some considerationes & I fear some impatience, resolved to try to marchandise, for by this time, befor the four dollers formerlie mentioned wer

fully spent, my father had sent me five hunder pounds Scots q^{ch} came in a time acceptabl & seasonabl, yet now getting some q^t in hand, thought I might try to improve it, but I fear notwithstanding al the pains the Lord had been at w^t me, consulted now in this w^t carnal reason then w^t him. And Sathan & my coruptiones prevailed too farr, the world coming too much in qⁿ th^r was not a fitt season, but cald to other thinges, much disquaictment of minde th^rby prevailed, to the braiking of my bodey.

O how oft n may we see q^t we ar by nature wer our eyes open. O hee guides fooles.

Upon the 5th of August I did find the Lord inclyning me to sett some time apairt to humbl myselve (for I had been uneasie, & cruel to my poor wife & others, in some bitterness becaus I could not get things moulded to my carnall minde) in my foolish wordlie interprises.

And I hope the Lord discovered the causes in pairt of my so oft n being disquaicted in several thinges formerly & at this time. Which was th^t on day in Murray after seeking the Lord in some time sett apairt th^rfor, hee sent me to his word in Job: 12 & 12, 13, and cleared up it was my dewtie to rest th^ron, depending on himself in the diligent use of lauful meanes, yet notwithstanding qⁿ on my jurney from the north, and att Kirkaldie, Pathhead as formerly related, being in vew of maney apearng difficulties and the Lord putting my heart in some caise to plead w^t him, I began againe to pry to much into q^t hee had formerly cleared, & to seek after mor then I fear the Lord did allow off. Therfor Satan was permitted to buffet me w^t ane tentation, q^{ch} I percaved at the time not to be off God, but it getting some grip in my minde, & the Lord w^ddrauing th^t albeit I pleaded to be delivered yet some dregs of the tentation remained, and had some bad effects, mor & more to inress in my minde the fear of man, & waikn my relyance upon the Lord, as his word befor incurradged too, in my aproaching difficulties.

Now the Lord humbling me in the discoverie of thes, my burdin of greife & feares wer much abaited. And for a month th^rafter (the Lord be praisd) I had much cerenetie & calmnes in my minde, glorie to free grace.

Then we gott a new alarom, by advertisment from severals th^t th^r was some mischeivous design in hand, but I had no freedom to goe out of th^t place, & it is observabl th^t some time befor, qⁿ th^r was mor libertie th^r, I had not freedom to stay & others in my circomstances stayed & made th^mselves mor publick & knoun, q^ras my going to Scotland sometime, qⁿ th^r was a breathing, made me less knoun in the toun. And th^rfor the storme incressing again, they wer necessitat all to flee, & I had not but peace to stay, and on day th^r came certain word of a generall search through the toun. And accordinglie after dinner the garison began & the ports wer closed, & houses searched, & hay lofts & the hay in some overturned w^t great paines, they began at the nixt hous to q^r M^r Hoge & I wer, & went round, & so our hous was last, & a marcie also. M^r Hoge went to a privat closet behind a hanging, & I went up to a litle place made for doves above ane for staire, q^r I could only sit or ly but not stand, to q^{ch} a dale only did lift & came doun again so exactly as made of purpose, & so wer in prisoness till they went th^r round of search, and against they came back to our close, it was grouing dark & they much fatigued, & M^r Hary Shell our landlord & trew freind mett th^m at the entrie & s^d he judged they wer wearie, wold they take a botle of his ale or beer, to q^{ch} they willinglie agreed & accepted of, & he did carie pleasantlie & diverted th^m for some time & told th^m ane old woman his mother lived in the lodging beside him, & if they pleased they might goe in & see th^r was non els th^r, q^{ch} they refused sayeing they wold not troubl the old gentlwoman, & so wer gon and imediatly the landlord came to M^r Hoge & me & took us in his armes, w^t as much joy as if he had gott a pryze, th^t all was over and so we marcifully escaped th^m. And after this was over I began to gett some setlment againe for some few dayes, but not only through the former difficultie, was I in some feares w^tout, but under great fightinges wⁱⁿ, through the streanth of a bodey of death, so th^t I was in no less perplexetie, by fightinges wⁱⁿ then feares w^tout.

About the 8th of Octo^r my burthin of both wer a litle lightned, & I gott some pleasant sight of former marcies, q^rin I was made to rejoyce, blissing him for the manifold steps of particular marcies, hee had brought in my way formerly. Then

I did see w^tout love to the Lord we could not serve him aright, we could not love him except we knew q^rfor, and the loving him for seen marcies was not to love him for excellencies in himself. Therfor th^r was need of faith, which was not w^tout the spirits inlightning pour. And th^rfor faith was the gift of God. God gives faith by the spirits discovering of his marcies, goodnes & excelancies, faith workes by love, love sweetlie constraines the soule to come to God, in & through the Lord Jesus Christ, being only mediator betuixt God & man. O for a grip heir.

October 10th I gott a new alarum from the north th^t Androw Symintoun my predicessor in Parke's affaires & John Montfod ¹ my successor th^rin wer takne, q^{ch} did someq^t trouble me for the time, upon several accounts. But some few dayes th^rafter, the Lord setled my minde in himselfe, and did lett me see th^t by nature we wer givn to extremities, & th^rfor it was needfull for a christian to have a suitable ballance on each side to keep from extreams, First, as much grace as keep the soule from utterlie yealding in ther spirituall warfare.

Secondlie, as much difficulties and tryales as might keep them low in ther oun thoghts, & keep th^m from vanetie & securetie.

Some few weekes befor this I remember the Lord did lett me see (when I was questioning why hee stode afare off in the day off difficulties & tryels) that in a day of the pouer of God in a land or place, the verie Reprobat might see some pleasantnes & finde some delight in the wayes of the Lord, but in the hour of tryel, even his oun people most be content w^t some love visites.

And wherfor, First, it wer no tryel to th^r faith, if they had alwayes his presence. Secondlie, hee is gon to his place (and q^t to doe th^r?) to finish his work in Zion, and as soon as th^t is ended he will doubtles return.

Saboth Octo^r 19th the Lord was kinde to my soul. And Octo^r 20 Georg Turnbul & James Reston younger was takn, q^{ch} bred new feares.

¹ Wodrow (iv. 196) mentions the imprisonment of John Montford, chamberlain to Park, in the Elgin Tolbooth, along with a number of local people.

The 21st James Reston elder my kind old landlord was takne & all sent prisoners to Edb^r; hou the first two came to be freed after sometimes imprisonment, I kno not, but few wan cleane from th^m att th^t time, & the honest old man about seventie yeares of age was putt aboard of a ship in Leith Road for to be sent to America, on Pitlochie having gottn gift of him & others, but by reason of the old man's age some litl money having beine given it was presented so to the Council, & hee was ordered ashoar & at libertie.

The Lord did lett me see at this time my life & all was in his hand, to kill or to save alive, to preserve or not. Nott th^t it is not so alwayes, but at this time it seemed hee behoved aither to save alive, or preserve in a spetiall maner, or els death and ruine (as to thinges in a world) wer att hand. And therfor saw myselfe obleidged, q^ever or to q^tsomeever he should call me, th^r was ground of contentment in submission to his will. But alace q^t ar we or q^t can we doe, being never so weel taught or resolved formerlie, if fresh waterings of his spirit & streanth be not given from heaven continually, the q^{ch} that we may obtaine. The Lord grant th^t we may alwayes w^t cryes & teares, call for helpe humblie from him.

Upon the 22^d of October the Lord gave me a sight of the great dishonor his name had gottne by the late & present sad defectiones of Britain and Irland, for hath not papists and all perswasiones of Religion cause to reproach the wayes of protestants, th^t q^ras all rankes of this nation solemlie vouing & swearing &c: to mentaine on thing this year & in short time th^rafter, the self same people, of all rankes, swearing, subscribing, & acting w^t all th^r pouer in the contraire, may they not say surlie th^t way cannot be the way of God, q^r they will solemlie perjure themselves in a litle time, oh alas th^t tho the Covenants had been unlafull as they wer not, th^t all rankes did not consult to hyde th^r nakednes in the contrary oathes, who knoues but the Lord might have secretly chastised thes lands. But now seeing our dreadfull defectiones & perjuries, in all rankes, is made so manefest to the eyes of all nationes, so it may be feared, th^t the Lord will make our plagues & judgments as visible to th^m to show th^t he will not be silent att our sin, but will sharplie reprove the same. But oh th^t God wold

prevent so justlie deserved wrathe, & pour out the spirit of grace & suplication th^t everie on might loath th^mselves, because of th^r sin, & return to him.

Upon the 23^d of Octo^r 1684 we wer advertised th^t the officers of the Garison knew q^r we wer, q^{ch} was new ground of feares, but in a short time th^rafter, him we feared most was cutt off by death. This night the Lord helped me to plead for saftie, becaus of the creweltie of the enemie, and th^t not for aney thing in myselfe, for I did see a bodie of sin & death even thⁿ working so stronglie against grace th^t I was made to loath myselfe, & plead for marcie from him th^t was mightie to save, and therby was streanthned from th^t scriptur, Isaij 41st & 10th, fear thow not for I ame w^t thee: be not dismaid for I ame thy God, &c: finding undenyablie th^t it was the spirit of God & of his grace working in me to plead for the same.

November first, the Lord helped me to plead as in his presence, w^t much fervencie, th^t hee wold open the eyes of my parents spiritualie & take away the vail of sin & ignorance, this to the great confort of my soule in wining to such neernes w^t him on th^t account. Now for some dayes the Lord gave me some rest from the vexation of hearing reports, & my minde was keeped in some qwayetnes, in getting some outward rest, & inward peace & neernes w^t the Lord, but not long. For upon Wednesday Nove^r 5th I gott word th^t my father was takn & in prison for converse w^t me. And befor I gott full information, I percaved some secret whisperings amongst my freinds q^{by} I perecaved th^r was someq^t concerning me, & therfor retired a litle & desired of the Lord th^t q^tever it might be, that hee wold aither take the burthen from off me, or support me under it, & give me the sanctified use th^roff.

Then a litle after M^r. Hoge cals for me & w^t much concernedness discoursed a litl w^t me, & then asked q^t if yo^r mother be dead, & I ansred to th^t purpose q^t was the Lord's will ought to be myne, then he sd q^t if yo^r father be dead, I replied as formerlie. Then he sd to be free w^t yow yo^r father is in prison, & some freinds in Edb^r ar necessitat to retire upon yo^r account, and then w^t some waight of minde I w^ddrew my alon & so did he, & my spuse & his godlie servant W^m Ballach, and qⁿ I came down from a hay loft, the sd W^m mett me & sd I most

not be troubled for the Lord had sd to him by his word from that scriptur, Exod: 14 & 13, from the midl, th^t the Egyptians whom ye see today, ye shall see th^m again no more for ever, & th^t he objected against it but the Lord was angrie & stil imprest it in his minde w^t pouer. Qⁿ I was my alon hee tooke the burthin much off me & confortd me in the hopes th^t the answer of my prayers for him might run in th^t providence, for his oun glorie, my father's good & my comfort, for qⁿ my father keepd at a distance from the publick defectiones, the Lord remarkablie kepted off much troubl th^t others in his caise wer trysted w^t, but qⁿ I knew he complied in the comon course of defection, I was made to aprehend the Lord (against whom he had sinned) would not so defend him from troubl: qⁿ he had sinfullie fled to men for saftie & not trusted in the Lord who had so oftn delivered him formerlie, the which I was made to express often befor his troubl came, the q^{ch} qⁿ it came was the less surprizing, & my concernment was so great, if the Lord had not supported, I had been crushed, but th^r was severales dear to the Lord, simpathising w^t me in th^t my affliction, & my wife & compannion in tribulation, caried as cheerfullie as possible tho of itselife the caise was waightie to us both.

Upon the 8th of Nov^r qⁿ retired alon, at the first I was much straitned in my minde for some time, & had some thoghts to depairt, I was helped to ane act off faith. That albeit I could not win to words to express my caise befor him, yet I was made firmlie to belive th^t the Lord knew everie circomstance of it, & was concerned th^rin, but then assayeng to bring my father's caise befor the Lord eer I went, I fand the Lord ouning me th^rin, & therfor desired to be further concerned th^rw^t. Then the Lord gave me some glimps of Eternatie q^{ch} refreshed my minde, then the Lord gave me a sight of my father's caise as being in a state of nature & sin & therfor lyabl to the wrath of God, & if he should die in th^t caise, radey to parish, then considering the sadnes & deplorablnes of th^t state & the endlesnes of Eternitie, my soul in much greiff for the same was made to cray furth, Lord is th^r no posabilitie of reconciliation, & to gett him under the benefite of thy blood, th^t cleanseth from all sin. Now while I was pleading for this, I gott hopes of the Lord's condescending to come in speaking termes w^t him

and asking as it wer, q^t wold he say. Then I was made to say, Lord : every naturall man is distracted & out of his right minde, the strong man having the possession & leading captive to sin at his pleasur, q^r thow in marcie restraines not, & tho he could speak he could not ansr on of ane thousand, & lyeing under the sentance of condemnation, I desire to bring him unto the, pleading thow may disposess the strong man & bring him to his right minde, of thy free marcie, & lett him be washen in the blood of thy dear son Jesus Christ. And I was also made to say, but now Lord befor I should offend thee in being so particular rather strick me w^t silence, but if it be thy holy will, lett me plead for I am bon of his bon, & flesh of his flesh, & how can I indure his destruction, if it be consistant w^t thy glory to save. Then I was made to bliss his holy name for what freedome at the time hee had given me in th^t mater, & to plead th^t if it wer his will, hee might let me speak yet againe. And I sd, Lord is not the divel & his instruments rugging at his soul to gett it destroyed in sinfull courses & he hath no streanth to resist if thow help not, & now in this caise th^r is non to help nor is able but thou th^{ts} mightie to save, & stronger then the strong man, & therfor Lord deliver him if it be thy will, for hee is radie to drope into eternall wreath if thow shalt forbear to help.

Then I was made to blise the Lord yet mor for giving me further liberty to plead in his behalfe, then I was made to say againe, now Lord befor I offend in being so particular rather let me be silent, but if it be thy will lett me speak yet this once. Then I was made to say, Lord will not freinds & relationes say th^t my strait lacednes in religion, th^t wold not yeald to smal things as others did (for I was offered liberty upon a sinfull bond q^{ch} maney took, acknoledging Bothwal bridg rebellion, & th^t it was not laful to take armes against the king upon aney pretence q^tsomever), and now see to my wisdom in bringing my father to ruin & miserie, & th^t if I had not been a fool I might have done other wayes, & had both peace myselfe & not brought others to th^t trouble, & now Lord, seeing this is & will be th^r words in reproach of the & thy cause, is not thy glory concerned & wilt thow not help for thy oun name's saike. Therfor Lord bring him to a right sight of his

caise & make him to seek & obtain reconsiliation w^t the in this providence th^t he may bliss the day th^t ever he was afflicted, & taught out off thy law, & th^t he may declare in the land of the living thy wonderful goodnes, & the greatnes of thy marcie that they th^t reproach may be ashamed and putt to silence. Then I was made to say, Lord may I have confidence th^t thow wilt answer my desire, butt I fand words fail me for ends knoun to himselfe. Then qⁿ I was goeing away I was made to say w^t joy in my heart, Lord I doe not remember I either read or heard of aney came to thee so & in such a caise & was denayed, and now I can nether say nor doe mor, but as I can, desires to leave the mater wholly comitted to thy selfe.

Mr Hog sd qⁿ I told him, that he hoped the Lord would have marcie upon him but wold hyde it from me till such a time as I should stand mor in need of it. It is to be observed th^t a litle befor the trayel came that the Lord had brought me verie low in the thoughts of myselfe, and did lett me see th^t my life & substance was only in the Lord's hand, & th^t preservation seemd to be a singular marcie q^tever troubl I should meet w^t, this seemd to be the wisdome of the Lord, th^t I might be brought to mor submission to his wil. And now albeit at the first hearing of this afflicting providence I was not w^tout greiff, yet the Lord marcifullie suported me under it w^t great streanth in my soul, by some solid confidence in the Lord, in being now wholly cast upon his caire: & in beliving marcie should be in it.

Now some few dayes after I gott notice of my father's imprisonment, we gott certain advice th^t Thomas Kenaway¹ & on Stewart, two off the king's troupe of guards, wer both killed on evening att Swynabay & th^t it was they had takn my father after they had been in Murray & imprisoned my brother-in-

¹ The murder of these 'gentlemen of the life guard' was one of those rash acts which only brought increased hardships upon the Covenanters—Kennoway had served under Dalziel and taken many prisoners at different times, including the celebrated Hugh M'Kail, and he was, according to Wodrow, a very monster of cruelty and profanity. That worthy historian indulges in no small gossip concerning him. Wodrow seems, however, to have failed in ascertaining the facts attending his death. The murderers were never discovered. It is not easy to see why Nimmo should have been suspected.

law th^r till he gave up our contract, thinking my father was pairtie contracter for me, q^{ch} was marcifully prevented by my father giving his bond at my desire as formerly related, & so th^t Scripture W^m Ballach gott was fulfild, for I was to see thes enemies noe more, for ever.

Now the killing of thes two wicked men begot such a sturr in th^t pairt of the countrie, th^t a pairtie of the guard came nixt morning to search after the actors & did cast the two slaine lyke beasts on a slade and brought th^m so to Linlithgow, & three paroches wer all called to q^r they apoynted a Court for examining th^m upon oath, to discover the actors, yea they wer so strick th^t wher persones were not abl to goe, they wer caried to give oath, but all in vain, th^r could no intelligence of the actors be gott, nether from whenc they came, nor q^r they went. This was w^tin fourtin dayes after my father was imprisoned, & becaus they could get no knoedg of the actors, and that thes two men had been so active to troubl my freinds in Murray & in the south, they thought it most rational to lodg the slaughter upon me tho I was not in the kingdom qⁿ done, & so I was excepted out of severall sinfully claged Indemnities, q^{ch} obleidged me to keep so closs in Berwick th^t severals of our landlord's famely for severall monthes did not kno I was ther, q^{ch} in pairt impaired my health.

Now the cause why they reached my father was, th^t thes two men after having bein in Murray & bred much troubl th^r, having pour from the Privie Councill to search for me th^r, & to hold courts & call in the gentlmen & others, th^r to examine th^m on my acco^t, & after getting up my Contrack of mariadg & missing my father pairtie Contracter, & returning south came to my father's in the night time & searched the hous at th^r pleasur, and finding severall letters of myne to him, on q^{ch} acco^t hee was guiltie by th^r law in convers w^t his only son (o hard law) & so caried him & all his papers & money, & brought all to Edb^r, q^r after reading the letters befor the Council, on of the Lords smyled and s^d to my father, if ye had obayed yo^r sone, ye had not comd heir (for in the end of each letter I had said read & burn) but tho th^r be nothing in th^m against the king or us, yet ye ar guiltie of convers w^t yo^r son & th^rfor most goe to prison. And becaus in some of th^m I hade desired to

leave his ans^r att M^{ris} Ross or M^{ris} Pyper's they were both forced to leave th^r houses & fled in to Berrwick q^r we wer, & M^{ris} Pyper's hous so searched th^t they looked under a skull for carieng coals q^r on s^d she is litle but cannot be th^r, and becaus I had desired my father in on to send his ans^r to M. W. C. th^r was on M^r W^m Cheeslie apprehended, & imprisoned & deponed hee did not kno me, & so was liberat, having payed about four dollers of charges as he told me afterward, qⁿ I was at libertie after the happie revolution.

Upon the 20th of Nov^r 1684 being my alon befor the Lord I was desirous to plead q^t might be the cause of his streatching out his hand so th^t severals wer under affliction, th^t wer most friendlie to me, and th^t pairtlie upon my account. And the Lord was pleased to clear up to me, th^t albeit my heart was single in the end of my going to Bothwel & the cause in it-selfe right & just, yet it was not att the Lord's comand, nether had they sought & waited for his counicile & I had joyned w^t them in being guiltie of the same sin in not humbling myselfe to seeke of him particular council, whither hee called me th^r or not, but having resolved formerly to ventur my all for him, took this to be the time w^tout dewlie seeking to know his minde th^rin, q^{ch} was no small sin, & under the sense th^rof I did see cause of sorrow, & desired to plead for pardon, & reconciliation & to acknoulege hee was rightious for I had sinned. And was helped to plead th^t this experience might be blist for my instruction.

The Lórd also discovered becaus my end was single in the mater, hee had trysted me w^t unexpressible evidences of his kindness in the tract of providences hee had trysted me w^t since th^t time, the q^{ch} did more then counterballance all my troubl, and as for Park,¹ who was now a prisoner also, his end was more for his oun advantadg I fear, then out of love to the Lord, & yet it was not wholly on my account he was taken.

About this time th^t scripture was verie refreshing to me, 2^d Cor. 3^d & 17, q^r the spirit of the Lord is th^r is libertie, but

¹ 'September 16th (1684).—The Council order Hay of Park, Alexander Monro, and Campbell of Arkinglass, to be sent to Blackness Castle and kept close prisoners. The occasion is not inserted in the registers.'—*Wodrow*, iv. 53.

Satan & my decetfull heart was not idle, for strong wer ther asaults upon me.

Upon the 23^d of Nov^r by unwatchfulness in giving way to tentatione I was putt a litle in confusion, Satan casting in my minde a fair apearance of a probabl way of reliefe from men, by the moyan of on I thⁿ eyed. And my decetfull heart joyn-ing w^t the tentation being presented so probable, th^t my heart lost th^t sett of trusting in God, the Lord had helped me to keep for some weeks, for from the 5th day to this I could never say th^t I came befor the Lord but he gave me somq^t of the faith of his presence, but thⁿ being in confusion I could not obtaine the same, doe q^t I could, which did learn me two thinges:

First, th^t a little sin as to our conception may make the Lord to w^ddraw.

Secondlie, q^ever clear conceptions the soul may imediatlie befor have of the majestie, presence, and favour of the Lord, so th^t the soul may think its easie to belive, and lay out th^r caise befor him qⁿever they please, or att leist qⁿ need requires, yet lett ye heart, through never so seeming smal sin in thoght, word or deed, be guiltie aither through unwatchfulnes in words, or minds eyeing some vain object or refuge of lies, or yet aney sinfull act th^t may make the conscience blush befor the Lord, I say in th^t caise (w^tout intimations of pardon & new suplie) they shall not be able by all th^r might to deliver th^r oun soul from confusion till the Lord give a new act of faith. At this time a litl befor Satan prevailed in this tentation, I was helped w^t much fervencie of spirit in some neernes of access to the Lord to plead th^t hee might bliss the present tryal to my parents & savinglie to open th^r eyes so we may see th^r is need to be sober and watch unto prayer, for Satan and our decetfull hearts, may soon cary us of from the Lord, even after intimations of kindnes, qⁿ somtimes Satan is bussiest & we radiest to yeald in q^t is not sinfull in itselfe.

Upon the 28th I only gott advice of the particular troubl Kenaway and Stewart had given to freinds in Murray, & th^t my brother in law was compeld to give up our Contract, q^{ch} they gott not time to use execution upon, but wer sent to ther place. M^r Stewart was thought mor sober thⁿ M^r Kenaway &

mor lamented, but it 's ill being in bad companie, for Mr. Ken-away was heird say some time befor his death upon an cold day, it was good beeing in hel the day, q^r th^r was a hot fyre, & he had s^d sometime befor if I was out of hell, he should have me, at hearing of q^{ch} blist Mr Hog s^d if ye wer in heaven I fear he wold not win ther to seek yow.

My bodey was someq^t brockn about this time & th^r was some talk of severals going to Carolina in the West Indies, & upon the 2^d of Dece^r godlie Evan Campbel being w^t us, sett some time apairt in the thoughts th^rof & desired me & some others to be concerned w^t him th^rin. And so I resolved th^t after my ordinary in the morning to take halfe ane hour for him, & as much for myselfe, and in the first halfe hour I only gott th^t w^t some life, Exod: 13 & 21, And the Lord went befor th^m by day in the pillar of a cloud to lead th^m the way &c.

And in the last halfe hour I thought the Lord brought in th^t w^t some pour, Micah, 2^d & 10th, Arise ye & depairt for this is not yo^r rest &c: ther was some serenetic & calmnes in my minde qⁿ it came. Then I s^d Lord q^r shall I goe, thⁿ th^t Scriptur was brought to my minde after the same maner, Gen: 12th & 1, spockn to Abram, letter pairt, unto a land th^t I will shew thee.

Then I saide Lord thou sees q^t difficultye apeares, then th^t scriptur was brought to my minde, th^{ts} spockn to Moses, Exod: 33^d & 14, and he s^d my presence shall goe w^t thee, & I will give the rest.

Then I s^d Lord thow sees q^t expences will be requisit & how by all apearance litl seems to be left of q^t I have or might have expected from my father his circomstances being such. The Lord seemd by all this to call me to exercise faith & patience & not to mistrust.

Upon the 3^d of Dece^r at night (having had several thoghts formerly anent my going to London, & now ane fitt oportunitie seemd to offer, & yet I could not get clearnes to goe) I was made to say, Lord its straing I ame keeped so in the dark qⁿ reason seemes to say I should goe ther or some oth^r way, & yet I can nether see qther its my dewty to goe or stay. Then th^t Scriptur came pleasantlie to my minde, Isay 42 & 16th, And I will bring the blind by a way they knew not, I will lead th^m

in pathes they have not knoun, I wil make darknes light befor th^m, & crooked thinges straight, thes thinges will I doe unto th^m & not forsake th^m. Then after I had done w^t my ordinary at that time, I resolved to take ane hour nixt morning after my ordinarie to see if I could gett further clearnes in th^t matter (for I could not take long time becaus my bodie was sore brockn) but all th^t hour I could gett no clearnes, and when I was coming away I was made to say, Thow wilt lead the blind by a way they knew not, & in the verie time th^r brake in some light w^t that impression: thow art the blind for thow art seeking thy way & cannot find it as thow wold, & th^rfor the promise is to thee. O th^t I could belive & praise.

Upon the 20 of Dece^r some from Scotland came to toun, and some th^r was th^t apprehended ground of feare. I was made to say th^t night in privat befor the Lord, wilt thow be a refuge from the storme & a shaddow from the heat and a litle sanctuarie, & I was also made to plead th^t he wold hyde me in secret of his tent, and th^t word came in refreshingly, 1 Cor: 3^d & 11th, All thinges ar youres and ye are Christ's: & Christ is God's. Now for some considerabl time the Lord gave me some peace in my minde & health in my bodie. But first, not w^tout the sence to my oune experience, th^t the Lord had covered the daughter of Zion w^t a cloud in his anger, Lam: 2 & 1st, and th^t the Lord had restrained the spirit of grace and suplication, and Secondlie, not w^tout the sence of a continuall strugling betuixt the Law of my members & the Law of my minde, and even finding sometimes the Law of my members bringing me into captivitie to the Law of sin &c: Rom. 7 & 23. Nevertheless I did find the Lord in his marcie in thes & other things giving me instruction & experience how to walk & in some measur how to seek & wait for his counsell, but oh at best we kno but in pairt.

And first perswaded me th^t in all concerns in waightie afaires I ought w^t sinceretie & seriousness, acknoledg the Lord in seeking his Counsell & aither waiting for it, or to walk slowlie eyeing the Lord in concurring or cross providences, & peace in my minde streanthning me in the use of meanes.

Secondlie, to be sure if I fand waights & darknes on my minde or bodey, to desist, and to minde th^t qⁿ I did other

wayes I oftⁿ smarted th^rfor. Now the divel, the world, & my corruptiones wer not w^tout maney assaultes but the Lord supported me.

First by the faith of his overruling pouer, and then by the faith of Christ's being as much concerned in the caise of his peopl now as in the dayes of his flesh. As also th^t by faith we might aprehend him, as neer in access in our adresses as then, and also the hope of eternal life w^t some comfortabl uptakings of it.

About the beginning of Feb: 1685, King Charles dyeing upon the 7th of th^t month w^tout aney knouledg of his sicknes to us, about the tenth at night the gates of Berwick, q^r we wer, wer shutt & proclamation made by tuke of drum, th^t non after such ane hour should be out of th^r oun houses, under pain of death, q^{ch} begot a great surprising consternation in most of the toun, & maney apreghended a massacar, for the Governur & severall officers wer popish, Amunition takn to the streats & wholl garison in armes all night, qⁿ att supper some came in, we desired th^m to take some meat, they insinuat they wold never eat more, houeever my wife & I took supper, & watched at the windowes all night by turnes & then nixt day King James was proclaimed & told Charles was dead, & so the fear of th^t was over for the time, but sad thinges feard.

About the end of this month we got advice my father was liberat & gon home. And th^t the Lord had dealt marciffully w^t some of our acquaintances in the north. For q^{ch} I was made w^t my heart to bliss the Lord, th^t ruleth ever by his pouer, Psal: 66th & 7th.

About this time I sett some time apairt to plead th^t if it wer the Lord's will (th^t seeing I resolved if his will to go out of the countrie) th^t hee wold provide for me, in the q^{ch} the Lord countinanced me, & albeit th^r was litle or no probabilitie how, as my father was circumstanced for ouning me, who only should have been usful in th^t mater; yet the Lord gave me great ground to hope: yea belive th^t he wold make my father friendlie, w^t bringing in th^t scriptur w^t satisfaction to my soule, Mal: last & last, & hee shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, &c: and albeit it be spockn th^r in some respect to ane other, yet the Lord presented Jesus Christ so to me, as

mor pourfull thⁿ aney to doe so, & made only to looke to him & waite in the use of meanes. And indead so it came to pass, that qⁿ I sent to him, albeit he seemd averse at first, yet at leanth was made willing, and did provide me some money, & I resolved (if the Lord would) to goe abroad. And now seeing we had a profest popish king advancing th^t intrest w^t all the cunning he could, & fearing the dreadfull effects to follow, & M^r Hoge being to goe for London to see if th^r was aney incurradgment to goe to Carolina, and ther by my faithful companion in tribulation, my wife, to be left alon in a garisond toune. About the 8th of Aprile I was resolving to goe w^t M^r Hoge to London, and was made to plead w^t & cry to the Lord for clearnes, but could not gett q^t was desired, yet considering the thing so seeminglie rationally, th^t I was in thoughts of going & th^rfor made radey, but the Lord laid his hand upon my bodie th^t it was much brockne, yet I resolved to goe (my inclinationes being ingadged) not observing the way the Lord had been teaching me a short time befor.

But the Lord who is ever marcifull putt a stop. For just the day befor we wer to goe, M^r Hoge asked me if the Lord had given me ful clearnes to goe, I told him I had some peace but not th^t desired clearnes. He desired me to take yet sometime apairt to seek the Lord's minde in th^t mater; & s^d albeit ye wold be desirabl to me, yet I advise yow aither to gett full clearnes or not to goe. And now taking some time for th^t end, and for a considerabl time having nothing but darknes in minde, I was made to say, Lord, if thow give me not more clearnes I will not goe. And immediatlie all bonds wer takn of body & minde. And so I apprehending I was not alloued to goe, resolved to stay, & had peace th^rin, but it displeased Mistris Hog, but her husband sweetlie complied, & he & his godlie serv^t went, but shortlie after I did see great marcy from the Lord in causing me to stay, tho it was darke to me at the time, for in a litl after M^r Hoge went, ther was a great report of ane invasion, both to Scotland & England. And shortlie after M^r Hoge came to London, he was jelousd for a spay or traffecker for Munmoth, & takn & the English oathes offered, & upon his refusall to take th^m, both hee and servant wer sent to prison, q^{ch} its lyke wold been my caise if I had gon, q^{ch} gave

me cause to say, his marcie indures for ever. Oh to be thankful. And now by the fors^d report of ane invasion all passadges by sea & land wer stoped, & so was my jurney abroad at th^t time. Yet th^rafter the Lord gave me great peace, in th^t I had desired to use all lafull meanes for my oun preservation. For seeing the sad & dreadful lyke stroakes th^t wer lyke to come upon thes lands becaus of sin. And in seeing it was the Lord by his spetiall providence th^t keep me still in th^t place: q^{tever} might follow. And blist be his holy name, hee was not wanting to me & my desirabl confort, now & then under the sharpe tryals of the time. Maij the 11th we gott advice th^t Argyl was to land or landed in the west Highlands of Scotland, q^{ch} wold begett present trouble.

Therfor I was advised to goe out off Berwick if possible. And in taking some time apairt to seek the Lord th^ranent, hee helped me to some earnestnes w^t him, & swayed my minde to leave th^t place, & cleared me th^rin from th^t Scriptur w^t some life, Gen: 19 & 17, Escape for thy life &c: it came w^t so much light & efficacie as I was made to close w^t it. And also hee said, fear not, I am w^t the, Gen: 26 & 24th. And also he said, my presence shall goe w^t the & I will give the rest, Ex: 33^d & 14th. And so I went from the toun th^t same night, putting on all the courradg I could to goe through the guards, our landlord's son being w^t me, & so passed to Castlhils our old quarters, & stayed some dayes & on day pleasantly inqwiring att my spuse (q^m the Lord oftⁿ had made to be of on spirit & minde w^t me in the Lord's maters & our oun) if she wold lett me goe to Argyle, & shee said if the Lord cleared my way, whoy not, q^{ch} made me sett some time apairte both to be concerned w^t th^t pairtie & to kno my oun dewtie, but nothing but darknes, & th^r was brought to my minde a passadg long befor qⁿ I was at school in Sterling, q^{ch} was a man th^t was amissing for some time near Tough, in th^t country: & thocht to be murdered, was cast out of the water of Forth neer Craigforth, all swelled, & the flesh of his toes & fingers washn off: q^{ch} I had gon to see thⁿ, was now I say livlie presented to my minde, w^t ane heavie impression relative to Argyle & his men wer w^t him.

And some dayes after I went to goe for Edinburgh privatlie

if possibl to see how maters went, & going alongs w^t a carier, th^t had two horses & some English light unentered goods, took the night to travel in, and coming to Hartside in the morning, q^r I had once formerly beein, but some th^r being wild in th^r principles & I not agreeing befor, I went in to a barn to take some rest, & in a short time on comes w^t a pair of bedplaides to cover me from cold & knew me, & after some rest wold have me in to braikfast, and qⁿ I went in th^r came a daughter of that famelie from Edb^r & told th^r was no winning in ther, for all was in comotion & confusion, having heard th^t Argyle was landed w^t men and armes. And therfor advised me not to goe, but intreated I might stay th^r till I advised q^t to doe, for I could nether goe back nor forward, q^{ch} made me willinglie accept of the invitation, & confusions increasing I stayed th^r hidnlie about a month. And albeit they were strangers to me & I loath to make myself knoun to th^m, yet the Lord made th^m both freindlie & kindlie. And I hope it was of the Lord for hee was both kind to me in th^t place. And others was made to bliss the Lord for my coming, sayeng the Lord made me usfull to th^m, q^{ch} was joy to my heart, & made to bliss the Lord th^rfor.

Now befor I went from this, Argyle was dispersed, and the Lord helped me to be concerned for the Church and this lands at th^t time, but was made to see sore & great evidences of the Lord's displeasure against us, albeit helped to fear him & hope in his marcie.

In the forsd place I receved a lyne from my wife th^t our child had been dangerouslie sick, but was some better. Now from the time I came heir to the end of Maij. Then I began to be sore brockn in my health for several dayes. And about the beginning of Junij I was made to seek of the Lord if hee wold have me to doe aney thing th^t I was slack in, (becaus I had found it his way formerlie, qⁿ aither I was intending aney thing contrair to his will or not stirring up myself to doe q^t hee desired). Then I desired to know if I should goe to Edb^r, & finding no light th^r, neather peace to stay. Then I was made to say, Lord its not probabl I should goe back, but if thow will, I shall. Then I fand my frailtie imediatly removed & my bodie refreshed. And I desired of the Lord to kno if I

should return & th^t scriptur came in my minde w^t some effi-
cacie, Job 5th & 24th, letter pairt, And thow shalt visit thy habi-
tation & shalt not sin. And upon the 11th of Junij 1685 I
returned, & found th^t my child was sick seeminglie to death,
having a flix, the nirls & kinkhost extreamly, & my dear wife's
serv^t away sick, & herselfe in great distress, albeit in great
composednes & submission to the Lord's will, I durst not go
into Berwick, th^rfor w^t great waiknes of bodey my wife came
to Castlhils to me, & left the child w^t a freind th^t went for her.
And it pleased the Lord qⁿ smalle hopes wer left, marcifully to
recover the child, and my wife & I setting some time apairt to
kno if I should return to Scotland seeing I could not goe to my
oun hous then ; wee gott both intimationes of kindnes but more
peace to stay then return to Scotland, for now we gott certain
advice Argyle was prisoner in the Castle of Edb^r. And so I
stayed and albeit it was a time of great confusion & troubl, yet
the Lord was marcifull in protecting, & now & then gave inti-
mationes of his kindness to my soul.

Upon frydays night after getting the heavie newes of Argles
beinge taken, it being late th^t night, I was waighted & confused
in my minde & resolved to take some mor time apairt nixt
morning thⁿ my ordinarie ; q^{ch} I did, & the Lord helped me to
be much concerned for th^t person & his famelie, th^t through the
free marcy of God they might attain to the blist use of th^t
afflicting rode. And was made to plead th^t hee wold stur up
the spirits of all his remnant to pray to him for reliefe, & I was
helped to plead to kno my dewtie, & was swayed in minde to
read the fourtieth of Isay q^r the Lord made several things sweet
to me : & I thought at th^t time it was said the enemies ye now
see ye shall see th^m no mor for ever. I was made also to plead
th^t hee wold deliver me from delusion, seeing this was a day of
the pour of Satan's kingdom, & of the Lord's w^ddrauing, & so
we radie to be deceived, only I was made to lay up things in
my minde at this time & waite the event.

On day about this time my alone, the Lord gave me a terribl
sight of our great guiltines, & his anger, from th^t 28 Isay, Wo
to the croun of pryd, to the drounkards of Ephraim, &c : &
from the 8th vers, ffor all tables ar full of vomit & filthines &
th^r is noe place clean, thⁿ I was made to pray, Lord we ar

guiltie, but pitie & have marcie on us: and I thought the Lord brought th^t to my vew w^t authoretie, Therfor will I make the sick in smiting the, & make the desolat for thy sines, Mic: 6 & 13th, thⁿ I s^d how long o lord, thⁿ th^t came in, till the land he desolat, Jer: 4 & 7, letter pairt.

Then I was made to pray, Lord q^t wilt thow doe for thy oun names saike. Then th^t was brought in w^t much pouer, Isay 28 & 21, for the Lord shal rise up as in mount Perazim, hee shall be wroth as in the valey of Gibeon, th^t hee may bring to pass his straing work & his straing act.

About Junij 16 we gott certaine advice th^t Munmoth who had landed in Ingland w^t men & armes, was brokn & dispersed. And the Lord conforted me w^t severall things, but espetialie w^t this, th^t no enemie could reach the Captain of Salvation, who had the disposing of all things.

Upon Saboth Junij 19th the lord gave me the solid faith in prayr of my being befor him, & in the faith of this, helped to plead in behalfe of his church & remnant, & th^t hee might stirr up th^r spirits to plead w^t him. And finding the Lord giving me words & some tendernes, I was made to plead th^t the Lord might deliver me from words & affectiones w^tout himself but th^t he wold make his spirit rest upon me: & considering his promise, th^t hee was to be found of th^m th^t seek him, I was helped w^t the more confidence to seek him, but considering the deplorable caise we seemd to be in, I was made to see it my great concernment to plead th^t hee might reconcill his people's will & myne to his, th^t we might be made w^t complacencie to be att his disposing, q^tever he might tryst us w^t, becaus we had sinned. Then considering all our outward refuiges had provd refuiges of lies, I was only made to look to Jesus Christ, and in the verie time th^t came sweetlie to my minde (it being the Saboth) and in this day he ascended, & is a high preist, who for ever lives to make intercession for his people, Heb: 7 & 25th.

Then I thought the Lord w^t some pour helped me to plead, th^t seeing our prayers seemd to be shutt out, and th^t hee was alwayes heard, th^t (so fare as might consist w^t his glorie) hee might interpose his moyan for us w^t the father, in behalfe of thes lands. Then I thought it was born in my mind w^t pouer

& life, q^t wold ye have. Then I was made to cry as Luke 1 & 74th, that hee wold grant unto us, th^t we might be delivered from the hand of our enemies, and might serve him w^tout fear, and th^t he might manefest his glorious gospell in purety & poure in his sanctuaries in thos lands: & I thocht the Lord gave me acceptance.

But considering my waiknes & the streanth of delusion in this day of the Lord's depairtur, I was made to plead, th^t hee might deliver me from mistakes, then I thocht the Lord brought to my remembrance w^t peace in my soul: have ye not been pleading for my spirit to live & act in yow. Then I was made to say, Lord be not offended at me, thow knoues how waike I ame, & how strong delusion is this day. Then I was made to plead & say, lord wilt thou hear my cry; hee was heard in th^t he feared, Heb: 5th & 7th, then I was made to say in my minde this was spockn of Christ (and befor I got out thes words) cane it belong to this purpose, th^t scriptur came in my minde, Isay 65 & 24, in the midle, befor they call I will answer, but qⁿ again I saide, but this was spockn of Christ, how dar I medle w^t it, thⁿ th^t came in refreshingly, all is yo^{rs} & ye ar Christ's, &c. Then I was helped to plead th^t seeing the Arke was takne captive, & the Church by apearance ruined, th^t the Lord wold make Dagon fall befor the Arke of God. And all this time about the space of ane houre th^r was mor thⁿ ane ordinarie life & streanth in my soul: having my understanding exercised in a dew fear, & reverence, I hope, of the majestie of God. And at this time I was made also to say, Lord I thocht thou had sd to me, the enemies that ye see the day ye shall not see th^m again for ever, & instead of th^t its lyke to be th^t the freinds th^t we saw befor (as it wer) we shal see th^m again no mor: & imediatly th^t Scritur was brought in w^t some authoretie, Isaij 40 & 8, but the word of our God shall stand for ever. Now having stayed from the 11th of Junij to the end of Octo^r in Castlehills, for the most pairt hiddenly, and now the winter drauing neer, & finding it not convenient to stay longer th^r, I advised to goe in to Berrwick to my wife & famelie, & perceaving litle ground of security th^r, I was desirous (if the Lord thocht fit) to look after some other residence, and espe- tially seeing the dreadfull storm from Antichrist and his seemd

to be aproaching. And after taking some time apairt to kno my dewtie, I thought the Lord was calling me to Edb^r th^r to advise w^t freinds, but my wife not being fully for it at first, I delayd some dayes, and still I thought I saw the Lord's call clearer for my going th^r. And so I resolved in the Lord's streanth to ventur, but met w^t severall discurradgments, but desiring my wife and others to plead w^t the Lord for me, & th^t if hee aproved not my going hee might put a marcifull stop : & if otherwayes that hee might prosper me.

And just as I was going away, on th^t I had desired to be concerned, told me they hoped all should be weel, and th^t I needed not fear, for the Lord had confortd th^m in my behalfe w^t th^t Psal: 1, & all he doeth shal prosper weel ; and it pleased the Lord to back it home w^t such streanth in my soul th^t it was both comforting and confirming to me in th^t jurney.

And upon the last day of Octo^r I came to Edb^r to my dear sister in law Barbara, who about the Maij befor had bein married upon Georg Sutherland, M^r of the old Coffihous th^r, to both q^m I was acceptable, for qⁿ th^r was some reports th^t I was going to Caralina, she came to us att Berwick, w^t a minde if we went to take hazerd w^t us, but the Lord thoght fitt otherwayes, & so after some time she was married w^t us. And now, after I had consulted some friends, I sett some time apairt to desire q^t clearnes the Lord might give me, & some fearing the Lord, wer th^rin concerned (separatlie) at that time. And I thought the Lord then cleared up my call for Holland. Albeit I feared maney inconveniences in th^t place, yet the Lord seemd to ans^r th^m in some measur by his word & spirit from th^t pas-sadg of Scriptur concerning David's going down to Gath of the Philistines.

And it pleased the Lord to make me & others concerned in simpathie of on minde. Albeit th^r wanted not some seeming impediments, and having acquainted my dear wife she seemed also to be clear for our goeing, & having wrot for her to Berwick, she w^t all convenient speed, came w^t the child & servant & was marcifully supported in th^r way. And nou we heard some report M^r Hoge was liberat at London & gone for Holand, which was ground of incurradgment. And we making ourselves radey, occation offered for our transport by sea but

th^r was some feares to win fairlie aboard & off. The ship was lyeing att Brunt Island, & we went first night to Leith, & took a passadg boat nixt day, some freinds accompanieng us, & qⁿ we came over th^r was four of Argyle's Captaines in the hous we went too q^t wer in our oun circomstances, viz. W^m Clealand, John ffullertoun, James Bruce & John Campbel, who wer singing and making as mirrie as they could, th^t they might not be discovered, & so passing th^t day the 23 of Nov^r about eleven at night we went all aboard; the greatest difficultie was our tender child's taking out to the cold sea att th^t time of night; however blist be God we sett saile w^tout discoverie, and being ten dayes att sea under some distress of sea sicknes, but marci-ful weather, only the last day was stormie qⁿ on the coast of Holland. And upon the 4th of Dece^r after it was night we landed at Roterdam, in health & saftie, but w^tin two dayes our child fell sick & continoued so, neer unto death for six or eight weeks. And now coming ther & seeing it verie hard to mentain a famelie in th^t place w^tout more stock thⁿ I had, q^rwith I was sore assaulted & notw^tstanding of the clearnes & incurragment of my call, & the maney promises formerlie gottn, yet unbeleif prevailed to the doubting in some measure, both the marcie, & faithfulness, of the Lord as to my present condition, to the sore discurradging & douncasting of my spirit, & being much straitned for accomodation to retire in, for coming at th^t time all we could conveniently gett was but on chamber, & we bought some curtians & made a closet off, q^{ch} was but uneasie in severall respects, both to my simpathising wife & me, who did all she could for my incuradgment, but the distress the child was in, gave her & the servant, much a doe, and we wer both misdyeted in our rest & other wayes, being in the midst of strangers, only or we came from Scotland, th^r had comd a lyn from M^r Hoge giving acco^t of his being saffe att Rotterdam, to q^m qⁿ landed we went & staid w^t him some few nights till we gott the aforsaide chamber, & indead he & his wife, wer as our parents to ther pour.

Now being in this caise w^tin some few dayes it pleased the Lord to give ane remarkabl evidence, both of his marcie, pouer & faithfulness, th^t I might th^rby be instructed, which was th^t about the 14th of Dece^r this 1685 at night, having been

advised th^t the paght or customes of goods was dear, & we having brought some h^{ds} of meal, butter & beiff w^t us, we wer advised to take it out privatlie, under night. And about nyne at night, no moonlight, no person neer, I was walking upon the peer betwixt the lamps & the water q^r the ship lay, waiting for two workmen I had trysted to take our provisions afors^d to a hous, becaues it was neer full tyde, & looking out for th^m, fals over the peer into the water, w^t a thick drap cloath coat about me, & going freele down over the head, at first I resolved w^t death w^t some calmnes of minde, thinking th^r was no remedie, but steping so over, it pleased the Lord w^t a rebound of the water, I came straight up again & w^t my finger ends, got a litl hold of the wall of the peer, & being several ships neer, a Scots boy in on of them had heard the plung the water gave qⁿ I fell, & hee cals to the rest, gett the boat quicke for th^r is some person faln in to the graff (as they call it) & qⁿ I heard th^m, having gathered some breath, I said, counciemen, I have slipped & falln, give me yor help, & imediatly the boat came & tooke me to a pair of staires, & albeit unknown, wold have no reward (& severals of Scots peopl perished about th^t time). Now having win to land againe, I emptied pairt of the water out of my pockets, & went home, & softlie knockd at the door, & the servant being out, my wife comes & I inquired if th^r was aney with her, & she s^d no, so I came forward, the water in my shoes making some noise feard her. I told her I had faln in the graffe. She was feard some person & I had been in debaite, I s^d no, but desired imediatlie to gett me a clean shirt, & spred up the bed & so casting all of, & putting on ane clean shirt, I lay down & slept someq^t afrightedlie th^t night.

Now I was made to observe this was not only to teach me, but also a chastisement, gentlie for my unbelief & to lett me see both his pouer and marcie in my deliverance, for if I had but slipt off from the wall a litle distance, th^r was small probabilitie of my being saved from death, but oh my unthankfulnes, for by all this I was not stirred up to belive as hee called for, nor yet to bliss him as the marcie called for & deserved, alas for darknes was com^d on & incressing, for maney a day the Lord gave me freedom from the caires of this life, & made most con-

cerned w^t spirituallly, but nou alase feares th^t way & caire of a famelie overtooke me, th^t I behoved aither to hope against hope & rely intirly on him, in the promises hee had given, or faint in this day of adversaty & my strainth be small. O hou hard is it to belive contrair to probabilities, but q^t is imposibl w^t us is easie w^t him. Now all th^t I had mett w^t was to gett tryal, and then made to remember th^t for a considerabl time befor I came from Berwick, the Lord left me so to the fear of man, th^t sometimes I thought I could have been glad of some rest from constant fear & terror of men, albeit in a mean lott, yea albeit the Church had not been delivered. Therfor the Lord after I came from th^t to Holland, justlie left me in the first place, to the fear of straites, and secondlie to kno how sad it was to have rest from feares of men, & want intimations of the Lord's favour, for, for the most pairt, I was under grievous darknes & unbeliefe, from my landing th^r to the end of Aug: 1686.

Then the Lord much streanthned me, as to my feares of wants from th^t Math: 6 & 25th, is not the life more then meat, & the bodie, thⁿ raiment, therfor take no thought q^t ye shall eat &c., as also bringing severall promises to my minde w^t streanth & life, but to returne.

The child having been long sicke, after our landing, it pleased the Lord to recover him, q^{ch} was new ground of thankfulness, albeit a punishment for my unbeliefe, yet my heart was not sturred up to rejoyce in the marcie of the Lord thⁱⁿ as it ought, for q^t through frailty which seased on my bodey & satan's strong assaults on my corrupt natur q^{ch} also too easelie complied.

I was not yet freed of my great sin of unbeliefe, albeit conscious of my great guilt thⁱⁿ, yet not able to ward of the violence of the tentation, the Lord having w^ddrawn, & I gott not th^t access as sometimes formerlie, & no wonder seeing after so maney aplyed promises, & so maney experiences of his marcy, pouer & goodnes, I should not have trusted in him, & comitted my way unto him, but oh qⁿ will we be wise & our foley leave us, we must aither be preserved by his mightie pouer through faith unto salvation, or it will not doe. O cursed principle of free will and abilitie in ourselves, for in us dwels no good &

w^tout him we can doe nothing. And o q^t paines is the Lord att to lett us understand this, & yett after much paines we ar lyke bullocks unacustomed to the yock, & wold still be at guiding ourselves, and have things shapen to our minde, qⁿ th^r is maney things the Lord hath to tell us off, th^t thⁿ we ar not abl to bear; & the Lord may be secretlie by darke providences carieng on ane outgate of marcie & preparing us to prize it, & carie right under it, qⁿ its not fitt to lett us kno it.

Now about the 19th of Feb. 1686 the Lord gave us ane other prooffe of his marcie & concernednes for us. Th^r was a bill sent me over from Evan Campbel our godly & kind freind, but told the valou being 86 gil. as ane 100^{lb} in Scotland, was not from him, but from a north country freind, th^t had lent it us till we wer in caise to repay it th^m again, q^{ch} was some surprise, but came verie seasonably both for suplie of our necessaty, & to shame me out of unbeliefe, for my wife was againe w^t child & brockn in health.

About the 20 of Octo^r nixt our child was verie sick, & the Lord w^t much satisfaction in prayer, brought in th^t Scriptur for him, Psal: 91 & 16th, w^t long life will I satisfie him & shew him my salvation.

I desiring the Lord might spare him & make him for himselfe.

Nou our blist father & freind M^r Hoge was gon the terme of Whitsonday befor to the Hague, q^r I sometimes went, & as his companie & advise was refreshing, so my going th^r was diverting sometimes, & at th^t terme we had gott a convenient house ourselves att Rotterdam. And now it drauing near the time of my wife's delivery again, our money was spent, but the Lord had streanthned my faith; & my minde was more pleasant. And upon the 5th of Nov^r she was marcifully delivered of a second sone, and sometime after, as M^r Hoge baptized our eldest son John so we took this second to the Hague to him th^r, q^r he was baptized James, at q^{ch} time was signal & observabl pour & presence of the Lord, th^t not only I, but others wer made to say they never heird nor felt more of the authorety of the Lord in aney ordinance, thⁿ qⁿ he pronounced his name & the names of the persones of the Trinity.

Now qⁿ my wife was lyeing in of this child, honest Torwoodlie¹ sent James Scot his servant to know how she was, & I sd James, our money is neer spent, & if the Laird have we most borrow, & indead Torwoodlie was not slack in sending q^t supplid till we got mor, & repayed him, which hee was loth to take till we came to Scotland, for his Ladey being my wife's relation, he still sd they wer lyke other & evidenced much kindnes to her.

Nou, after some time, I thoght if I had some money I might doe someq^t for my famely by trading. So I wrot to my Cussing Patrick Young forsd th^t if th^r wer a possabilitie to raise me some money, I wold give q^t security I could, & my proposal was, he to len me 500^m, my sister, Aunt Agnes, & my father each, so much, and if he was not free for his pairt not to propose it to the rest, but he was content, & the only stop seemed to come by my father, & so th^t failed, thⁿ I assayed someq^t els, but still all was refuiges of lies, faith & patience was to have the tryell, & my waiknes & the Lord's pouer & marcie mor discovered, & I made to wade in a labrinth of difficulties, threatned w^t want w^tout sight of outgate, & even in this place, not w^tout fear and danger from the enemie, for some wer w^tout order, griped, put aboard and sent for Ingland, & th^r hangd, some alledged murdered by the enemies in th^t place q^r we wer, some attacked by violence, w^t sword in hand to be caried off & they defending th^mselves resisting force w^t force in wounds & blood till the Magistrates of Rotterdam tooke & imprisoned both till examined & by the mob, forced to justice albeit inclynabl enough of th^mselves, & some of thes atackers wer in prison qⁿ the Prince off Orange came over at the hapy Revolution. And sometimes th^r was a search procured (by King James) from the States, but they kindlie gave some advertis-

¹ In the beginning of 1685 the Council had ordered George Pringle of Torwoodlie along with Hume of Polwarth to be prosecuted for treason. They were accused of a share in the conspiracy against the King's life, and that of the Duke of York, known as the Rye-house Plot. Proceedings went in absence—Pringle had taken refuge in Holland. His lands were forfeited, and his son, a lad of sixteen, was imprisoned, and only liberated on finding bail for the enormous sum of £5000 sterling. Pringle is described by Wodrow as 'a gentleman of a fine spirit, and singularly religious.' His wife was a daughter of Brodie of Lethen, and Mrs. Nimmo's cousin.

ment, th^t Scots people might be on th^r guard, as particularlie once for S^r James Stewart who narroulie escaped by the importunetic of worthie old M^{ris} Hog in whoes hous he was, th^t he wold goe out, having heard the search (q^{ch} putt us all in alarom) was to be th^t night.

We had indeed some comfortable freinds th^t wer fled w^t us, & some th^t had ther residence for trad th^r, such as M^r Russal & M^r Pyper's famelies. And it pleased the Lord to make two Dutch women kindlie & benefitall Mefrow Verbeck & her sister in law, by the influence of blist old M^{ris} Hoge, & having chainged our habitation from the Scots Dyke on the high streat to the Blaker streat & stayed th^r neer ane year also, the hous was takin by ane other. And having severall wayes labord to divert myselfe, & exercise my bodie, in buying backs at the saw miln, for burnwood & braik & work among the same & some times walking to the Hague & other places. Att lenth K. James gave ane toleration in Scotland for meeting houses, out of a peace of state policie, q^{ch} gave some intervale of rest for a time, & severales went home. And albeit our worthie freind M^r Hoge wold never joyn th^rw^t, so as to preach by vertiow th^rof, yet after seeking the Lord, he determined & went to Scotland, q^{ch} was a great seeming loss to me. And our hous being takn as sd, & the term of removing drauing neer, I was at some pains to look out for ane other, but alwayes somq^t stopt, at lenth M^r Pypper our good freind & I went till we wer both wearied, & could not come to setle, & on Thomas Bogle had offered a chamber in his hous, w^t some other small accomodation, but my wife being now bigg w^t child, & the summer coming on, & the sd chamber lyabl to the heat of the sun, she could not think upon it. And I coming home wearied, I told her all M^r Pypper's travel & myne was in vaine, & I resolved to be at no more paines th^t way, & feared she behoved to goe to M^r Bogle's. Upon q^{ch} considering all circomstances she was much grived, & run to ane other rounge w^t the teare in her eyes, & looking up to the Lord, begged pitie, & by th^t Scriptur Psal: 102^d & 17, He will hear the prayer of the destitut, & not despise ther prayer. Hee fuly reconceild her will, refresht her mind, & made her will pleasantlie to follow q^t hee thought fitt to carve out, & returned w^t a pleasant

minde & countenance, sd now I will goe to M^r Bogle's or q^r yow please. I judg this was upon Saturday 21 Aprile, 1688, & upon Munday 23^d we removed to M^r Bogle's. 24th I did labour to putt up our litl furnitur in the best maner I could, & resolved th^t night to sett the morrow apairt to seek the Lord's mind, if I should goe home to Scotland, seeing providence seemd now so to straitn us ther. The q^{ch} I did it being Wednesday the 25th, a day never to be forgott, for then the Lord tooke of all my former darknes & fully cleared up my way to goe to Scotland, & left not the least hesitation or doubt of my call. First, from th^t Isay 41 & 10, fear thow not for I be w^t the, be not dismayed for I ame thy God, I will streanthn the, yea I will helpe the, yea I will uphold the w^t the right hand of my righteousnes. Secondly, from Psal : 91 & 10, th^r shall no evel befall the &c. Thirdlie, from th^t Psal : 121 & 7, the Lord shall preserve the from all evel &c.

Fourtlie, from th^t Mark 5 & 34th, and he sd unto her, daughter, thy faith hath made the whole, goe in peace &c.

Fiftlie, from Dewter : 12 & 20, when the Lord thy God shall enlarg thy border, as hee hath promised the &c.

Now it pleased the Lord to bear home all those w^t such pour & life upon my soul, th^t I had a firm perswasion they wer from the Lord to me aplyd by the efficacie of his spirit, th^t I was no mor sad : but w^t solid peace & stayednes of minde, fixed upon the Lord, in thes promises as faithful. And the nixt day being the 26th I went to the Hague & tooke my leave of Lapnes & his Ladey & returned, & upon fryday the 27th a shipe being radey to saile, I went aboard in the afternoon : & th^t night came to sea, q^r after about ane day & an halfs sailing we was neer the coast of Ingland, a dreadfull storm ariseth of extraordinary wind & rain th^v the M^r & Mate sd they had sailed 25 years & not mett w^t the lyke, & they wer feard they had lost th^r course. Worthie old M^{ris} Hog came home w^t me & we wer both extremely sick & in our extremity I sd M^{ris} Hog if I had aney simpathy to spare ye should have pairt, but trewlie I need it all myselfe, only it will have ane end. At q^{ch} as she could, she smyled ; however, tho we got a sore toss th^t a short voyage. And upon the 30th we landed safe at Borroustounness. I had a cussing sailed in the shipe who gave me

his bed & took care of me, & gave me now & thⁿ a litl tost in wine but litle could I take but my minde stayed & pleasant. My cussing once giving me someq^t qⁿ an intervall of the storm aloud sd he wondred what she was th^t had married me, I pleasantly ansrd she beguiled me & I her, for indeed we wer both but tender. And upon the first of Maij M^{ris} Hog & I came both to Edinb^r. O to seek him I wait for him, he makes up all loss by delays qⁿ he comes.

Now after I had stayed th^r a litle time & consulted w^t freinds, I fand th^m avers from my returning to Holland again, but I was in the dark myself, whether or not, & wrote so to my wife, for I feard her coming over being w^tin two moneths of her time to be delivered of a third child. I wrote some dayes th^rafter a second to my wife & desired to think on coming home, tho I was yet in the dark & had not freedome to desire her to come home considering her caise, but the Lord was helping her to cry to the Lord for councill & light, to direct her way. My third, in a short time was leaving the whol mater to herselfe, for if she had not freedome then to ventur home in her present circomstances, thⁿ I wold labour to ventur over to her, q^{ch} did putt her to a considerabl strait, both becaus she had heard th^t I had been sicke unto death qⁿ I came home, & also if she came home I might be the more ingadged to ventur on, & be lyabl to danger, & if troubl came on me she might be guiltie, & yet it was hard to stay ther if th^r was a probabilitie off living at home, & she told me th^t Scriptur calmed her minde sweetlie, Rev. 3^d & 10, becaus thow hast keep the word of my patience, I will also keep the from the hour of tentation, th^t satisfied her as to me.

Then she brought her own case befor the Lord and desired to plead hee might direct her, & then th^t came to her minde w^t some pouer, Exod : 33 & 19, I will make all my goodnes pass befor the & will proclaime the Name of the Lord befor the, in q^{ch} she fand clearnes to ventur if providence concurred, & so sett about the means, but the shipe she was thinking to go w^t, & not ane other, because th^r was kindly men of her acquaint-ance sailed th^rin, was to sail on munday & this was Saturday, but Munday after she had been desiring if the Lord cald her to goe, he might putt a marcifull stop for some dayes. She

was advised some Mer^{ts} had prevailed w^t the M^r to stay and they wold give him considerable goods, q^{ch} was the M^r his profite & her conveniencie, & so she got time, but ane honest freind the mate s^d he wold not lett the M^r know, for he had beine feared w^t a gentlewoman was brought to bed in his shipe formerlie, & if he knew her caise he wold not condescend. She told she wold not hyde her caise, & if the Lord stops th^r she wold stay, but after meeting w^t the M^r & telling him, after some demur, he pleasantly condescended sayeng seeing her husband was home he wold not be a mean to separat us, and so came home, & in discurradgments by the way that Scriptur still came in her mind w^t suporting streanth, Psal: 13 & 5, but I have all my confidence, &c. & in seven dayes was saffie landed, praise to the Lord, and I being in Edb^r uncertain if she was to come, a gentleman sent for me not doubting but I had heard, & s^d I hear yo^r wife is com^d to Borroustoune, at q^{ch} I was surprised, but imediatly after getting a lyne th^ranent, was glad, and th^t same night M^r Young fors^d and my brother in Law rod out albeit it was late, & was th^r against the morning, & fand she had been ill all night of a cholick, but some better, but qⁿ on horsback & got the fresh aere, she was much better, and being the 5th of Junij 1688 we came safe to Edb^r q^r I have providentialie gott my Cussing M^r Younge's hous, who after my coming home had removed to his oun hous in the countrie.

Now to return a litle, upon the 20 of Maij I then gott mor access to plead w^t some libertie upon my father's account then formerly but no promis. Jun 2^d I gott access as to my oun caise, & the caise of myne, w^t confidence in God through Jesus Christ, but no promise. I coming now home this manna seemed to cease.

And now my wife's time of delivry drauing neer, her confortabl sister much attending her, upon the 12th of July she was by the marcie of God, safly brought to bed of her third child a doughter, who got such stress in coming into this world, th^t th^r was litle apearance of life, & my wife fel yerie ill & feverish, w^t ane extream purging, yet through the marcie of the Lord, both recovered, & the Lord was maney wayes marcifull to us at that time, & albeit I needed to be coutious as to my saftie, yet th^r was not th^t violence of persecution, King James resolving

on smooth methods for some time, & yet I caused speak to some to see if my full liberty could be procured, but they durst not ingadg th^rin, & even some of my neer relationes refused to converse w^t me for fear of after troubl. But it pleased the Lord to open th^t wonderfull door of deliverance himself, by th^t glorious providence of the Prince of Oraing landing in Ingland about 4th Nove^r th^t year, q^{ch} freely loused all our bonds as to that tirranie & opression we had long groanned under; let th^t day never be forgottn by all fearers of God & good protestants, for th^t was a day of the rejoycing of ther hearts.

Now having heard of the Prince his making radey to come over about the midle of Octo^r I venturd to goe see my father att his oun hous in Boghall, & now & then all th^t winter passed my time some times w^t my wife & some times w^t my father. And albeit all in Ingland submitted to the prince, yet Duke Gordon, our popish Governor of Edb^r Castle, thought fitt to hold out, q^{ch} oblidged the Prince to bombard & cannonad the same, & we living in the grass Market wher we could hardlie go out or in, but in vew of the Castle & they having killed some persons upon the streat, freinds wer verie pressing for our removing from thence.

As also Captain Wallace keepped out the Abey w^t the foot guards as long as he could, q^{ch} moved the minds of severals against him and particularly the Colidg youthes & prentices w^t some others q^{ch} went down in a bodey to require his leaving the Abey, q^{ch} he refusing & they pressing forward, he caused fyre on them some small cannon load w^t small shoat & killed & woundede maney, q^{ch} so exasperat the wholl toun as weel as the relationes of boyes kild [& wounded th^t the boyes and others left called for asistance by beatting of droumes through the whol toun, who nixt night went down asisted by the Magistrates & Toun guards q^{ch} oblidged Captain Wallace to leave his post & flee, and the boyes & youthes entring went imediately to the Abey church q^r King James had made much preparation for his Idolatrous worship, & brought out all th^t was ther & brunt & brake down the same & thⁿ went to severall other papists' houses & tooke q^t popish books & trinckets they found ther & brunt the same also, for ther was now a wonderfull forwardnes in most & non durst opose for th^r had been

feares of massacres formerly, so th^t one night being some tumult in the Toun & I att my father's, my wife & child in bed, nigbours wold have had her ryse for th^r was nothing but death to be expected, her minde was much composed & said to the child att her pape, & Grisall most thow & I be slain this night, then the child lookes up to her & smyles, w^t q^{ch} th^r came ane impression in her minde th^t she hoped th^r was no fear, & s^d if she wer up she wold goe see q^t the mater was, and the servant going found it a man in the staire struggling to goe out to the guard & his wife & children holding him, q^{ch} raised the alarum.

Now the Castle being in a maner besadged & much shooting on both sides, & some persons on the streat neer to us killed as afors^d, freinds still pressed our removall from th^t place, but the Lord gave me & my wife both confidence and clearnes to stay w^t much composur of spirit, the Lord giving us both promises for saftie & protection, but at lenth the importunety of our best freinds even of the godly as blist M^r Hoge & Mistris Ross prevailed, we seeing th^m still uneasie for fear of us.

So th^t contrair to our light to please th^m upon the 16th of Aprile 1689 we went to my father's w^t our famely q^{ch} was indeed a sad going to us, for the Lord w^d drew, darknes came upon our mindes, we got not our wonted access in prayer of q^{ch} we fand the sad effects for about three yeares as shall after be related. So th^t qⁿ the Lord gives light & peace, lett th^m be tender of it th^t gets it & lett non be rash in advising to the contrair or meddling to cross the light of others, for being at my father's we wer badlie accomodat, had much darknes, q^t we had gott was spent th^r only remained some ballance of my wife's portion to be gott. I aplyed myselfe in everything to pleas my father, being now as it wer at his disposing againe. My wife gained his affections and some times in conference he was made w^t the tear in his eye to hear and acqwiess. So under much discurradgment th^t spring & summer passed for now the tract of providence was altered, for formerly life was in hazerd, much danger & terror from the enemie, the Lord supporting & conforting by teaching us out of his law. Now th^t is over & uncertanty how or q^r to setl or be mentaind was our tryel under darknes and distance from the Lord as to our apprehen-

tion & uptaking, tho his everlasting armes was under us & his design was marcy in the end, glory to him.

Now the summer being past & the Harvist coming on I attended the reapers w^t much diligence, & my being formerly in a cedant life for some yeares & keeping ane exact dyet, & now exposed to raines & weet feet brought a violent habituall cholick upon me q^{ch} continoued about twelve yeares th^rafter, by courses twise or thrise every year, & lasted some times two weekes, some times to eight & so longer & shorter, this was ane other rode for our going against our light, & my wife was again w^t child of her fourth & tender in health yet better as sometimes formerly.

And now my father having possessed the Maines of Boghall about thirtie yeares, he resolves to qwit it & proposes it to me & he wold give me the halfe of the plenishing, this putt me to new thoughts & seeke counsell from the Lord, but the old road of access was much incumbered w^t darknes. Houever at lenth I seeinge the ferm much worn out & if I got not the whol plenishing & somq^t doun of the rent I wold be but under slavrie to medl w^t it & th^rfor resolved th^t except Boghall the maister wold give doun 20^{lb} Scots each year of the rent & my father give me the 'wholl plenishing, q^{ch} wold be worth about three thousand merks Scots, I wold not medle, & heirin I fand peace in my minde, & so I did propose both to the Laird & my father, both q^{ch} they refused & I continoued to stand at the resolve I had taken. Therfor my father legalie gave it over & I was now at a strait.

And the Government being now settled upon King W^m & the customes to fall in his hand to be manadged by the Lords of Thesaurij, about Julij 1690 I was advised th^roff & th^t our dear freind Evan Campbel had gott a post & desired to come to Edb^r, so neer the end of Janry I went to Edb^r tho my wife had no reckning & was brought to bed befor my return, so comuning w^t freinds at Edb^r was advised to adress myselfe to the Lords Crauford¹ & Cardres² who wer my good freinds

¹ 'The great and good Earl of Crawford.' He was appointed President of the Council at the Revolution, and died in 1698. A curious letter from him will be found in the Appendix (513) to Burns's *Wodrow*.

² Henry, third Lord Cardross. He had at one time attempted to found a

& two of the Lords of the Thesaury, & qⁿ I did, they told me I was too late for all was fild up, but my Lord Crauford, after second thoughts, thought fitt for the present to take out the clarkes name was apoynted for the Custom hous of P^rpans & caus fill up myn, Evan Campbel being to be survyor th^r I judg prest this, I fand the incurradgment wold be small & w^t all fand one aversnes in my minde & so refused it, of q^{ch} honest Lord Crauford hearing sent for me & prest me to take q^t they could now give & sd he judged th^r was as maney knaves had by moyen gott better posts q^{ch} in a litle wold make rounne for me & others & it was q^t he could do at the time, & if I refused he wold never more be for me, q^{ch} w^t my present strait prevailed tho th^r was such a damp on my minde at the time as the but-tones wer lyke to break of my breast. So I complied again w^tout light, & so returned to my dear wife w^t the newes th^rof, who in my absence was after hard labor brought to bed of her third son q^m we called Thomas, after blist M^r Hoge, who had married us & baptized the former three in three severall nationes.¹

Now about the first of March, Samuel Douglas of Heaslside, Collector, Evan Campbel, Survyor & I went to Prestonpans & intimat our Comissions & tooke posession of our posts, & about the 15 of Aprile we came from Boghall to Edb^r q^r we stayed till the 13th of May th^t our hous was radey at P^rpans, and then went th^r, & in our going mett w^t a marcifull providence for our servant Betrige Wood who had gon to Holland w^t us & stayed since, being upon a horse w^t the youngest child upon her knees & other two in creils upon the horse, she & the youngest child fals both from the horse w^tout harme to aither, praise to the Lord.

Now being settled th^r I had some difficultie at first, being un-aqwainted w^t the employment, but was marcifully guided & the Collector being upon such service befor was usfull to me at first, but afterward I did for him & myselfe both, for he stayed

colony in Carolina, which was destroyed by the Spaniards. With others he found refuge in Holland, and returned with William III. He was appointed General of the Mint. He died in 1693. It was to a daughter of this nobleman that James Nimmo (Secundus) was married.

¹ *I.e.*, in England, Holland, and Scotland.

litl at the place. But my cholick & much darknes on my minde oft affected me, yet the Lord was other wayes verie marcifull to us in maney thinges & blist & prospered q^t was comitted to my charge. Butt a considerabl time after our settling ther th^r was ane act of parliament did apoynt harth-money to be collected and M^r Campbell was as a brother to me & I to him for he was trewlie gracious but somq^t of ane high & aspiring minde, to q^{ch} much incurradged by his wife, he ingadges to colect the hearthmoney in the presbetry of Hadingtoun & pressed me to come in eqwaly w^t him q^{ch} I was averse from, but my wife more, yet by his constant pressing I was prevailed w^t, sore against my wife's will, & I never remember I tooke my oun will so farr against her's as in th^t for q^{ch} I smarted sharplie. My motives wer it lay neer us & wee might doe it & so make some litle gain beside the post we wer in & I could not weel refuse my asistance to my dear freind he being ingadged, in q^{ch} th^r soon arose maney difficulties & we wold have been content both to have been free of it but could not and th^rfor I resolved to sett my face to it, but we was not weel begun till he gott liberty from the Lords of Thesaurie to goe north to the Highlands to bring south a sone he had left th^r some yeares befor a child qⁿ he was forced to flee from Murray, and the Collector's Ladey fell long sick & att lenth dyed, so th^t the stress of both ther posts & my oun & the hearth money lay upon me & laboring sadlie also w^t my cholick so th^t I was in great distress severall wayes, & mean time came in a shipe w^t french wines q^{ch} was ane addition to my troubl. The merchants told me they used to geat some ease of the dewty at all ports & I behoved to do the lyke. I told th^m I could give nor would give non, but th^t belonged to the Collector to act th^rin as hee thought fitt, but to pleas th^m I told th^m tho it was contrair to my Instructions yet I wold take a blanke report & entrie till the Collector was sent for, q^{ch} they wer content off, but a few dayes after the Merchants being absent, Georg Dundass, Survyor at Leith, heiring our Collector and Survyor wer absent, procured ane order from my Lord Reath Thesourer deput to come & survey & see the bookes & manadg, q^{ch} he presented to me att Port Seaton, waiting & overseeing the unloading of the wines. I told him the order

should be obeyed & immediatly a waiter he had brought from Leith I ordered aboard w^t oures. M^r Dundas sd he behoved to see the report & entry, I ansrd, why not. He sd wold I send for th^m, I sd I trusted th^m to non but myselfe, he sd thⁿ he wold goe w^t me. I was in a great strait & feared to be afronted the bookes being blanke, houever spock privatly to the M^r of the shipe, a Dutchman, & told him this M^r Dundass wold doe harme if the report was not filled up, th^rfor desired him on his perril to give me a just acco^t, so he told me but reservd out six tunes. So I thoght if M^r Dundas went to a hous I could get the bookes fild up, but qⁿ we came neer the Custome hous I sd I judged this was his q^rarters we wer going by, he sd he wold goe straight & see the books, q^{ch} reased a new difficulty. I told him I most thⁿ goe back to my hous & gett the key, he sd I wil waite at the Custom hous door till ye come. However coming home told my wife the distress I was in, q^rat she was grived & th^t came in her minde w^t calmnes : the uprightnes of the upright shall deliver th^m as in¹ & after gon out I rememberd th^r was a back door to the chamber through our Landlord's & th^r undiscerned gott in & filled up the bookes as the M^r had given account, & returned out & came to M^r Dundass & opned the for entry & took him in & did lett him see the bookes.

I most say the Lord wonderfully & marcifully guided me in this hurrie of surprize, praise, praise, to him.

Qⁿ the Merchants came, they wer much troubled th^t the M^r had concealled six tunes, & intreated if I wold but secure it from the pouer of M^r Dundass, but they could show me no way hou, then I came home much troubled & told my wife this new strait th^t the Mer^{ts} wer lyke to lose so much, at q^{ch} tho formerly supported she failed, I not being weel, throues myselfe upon my bed & sd I have falln upon a way to frustrat M^r Dundas & comply w^t ther Mer^{ts}, & upon the nixt morning goes to th^m and proposes th^t I should take th^r bonds q^rin I should narrat th^t it was short reported, & so became seazur, q^{ch} the Mer^{ts} aledged was through my not fully understanding the Dutch langwadg, & th^rfor tooke bond th^t the Mer^{ts} should be

¹ This blank space is in both the original and early copy.

lyabl th^rfor as the Lords of Thesaury should find just & so by transirie narrates this and orders M^r Dundass to lett it pass. I most say the Lord so marcifullly did guid me in all this as I nether can omitt nor forgett it, praise to him, for albeit my ends was singl if he had gott the book, as it was, it might have been misconstruited & I reflected upon, & he was necessitated to lett all pass as ordered.

And as for the herth money tho I collected twelve paroches of fourtin yet & put all in order in a book, yet I was content to lose all my labor & satisfie myselfe to gett my charges.

Now our sone Thomas fell sick in July 1691, a verie pleasant child, & upon the 15 of August th^rafter depairted this life, anent q^m his mother gott some refreshing promises.

Now being long & sor distrest w^t my cholick & my health impaired, my wife & I both having scruples about the report oath that the M^{rs} of ships gave, & also a difference fell out betwixt M^r Campbel & me by reason of some mistake arose q^{ch} made him give me some slight in publick q^{ch} I recented in passion, so th^t ever after if aither he or I tutchd upon th^t subject we fell both in passion tho oth^rwayes th^r was never two brethren lived in more complacencie.

Also blist M^r Hog sent us word he did not see our stayeng in th^t place. Also M^r John Moncreiff, Mini^r th^r, had pressed M^r Campbell & me to be elders, the q^{ch} we could not gett freedom to doe becaus as we wer stated in our posts we wer takn as enemies to the most of the paroch & they for most pairt traders, & maney of them indeavouring to run th^r goods privatlie ashoar, w^tout entring and payeng the King's Customes, but M^r Moncreiff still pressed & cald for us to kno our reasones. I tooke upon me to tell him the former reason & also th^t M^r Campbell & I had each of us takn some time apairt & as yet could find no freedom, & if the Lord was tryeng if we wold wait for his councill, if we gott freedom we should accept, for we wer both beyound doubt it was a dewtie in itselfe but to us as circumstanced was the ground of doubt, yet he would not forbear & read us out in church but we wold not accept, at q^{ch} he was displeased.

Now all thir things made us both think, q^t if we should louse from th^t place, but espetially my wife, so we agreed to take a

fornoone each apairt to see q^t clearnes we could gett & she was clear to goe & I to stay q^{ch} we comunicat to others at dinner, & in a short time after M^r Campbel comes in & after a litle I smyled & sd Evan is not my wife & I going to pairt, & he being acquaint w^t the practise I told him how the mater was, my wife sd no for if ye stay so wil I. Then I replyd no for ye shall goe & in dew time I may gett freedome, but she persisted & till she resolved to goe had no peace & nixt morning went in to Edb^r & takes a house & at Martimas 1691 we pleasantly pairted & she went and the famely, & I stayed till the beginning of March & cleared my accounts & gott freedome to goe, and I most say th^t time was the sweetest to me of all the whyle I was in th^t place.

Now having gott the balance of my wife's portion from her elder brother, and the Ladey Grant had signified if my wife wer in Edb^r she wold send some of her children to her to board befor aney, prevaild w^t my wife to take a house the larger & furnish it some better, it tooke the most of the litl money we had, for to this time we had litl or no plenishing except some fether beds & bed-cloathes, because of our uncertain abod in every place we had yet been in, & Grant's children falling sick th^t project misgave and about August 1692 my wife conceived againe & shortly after takes a violent flix th^t to the time of her delivery was never able to goe over the door out, & for most pairt keep bed & no life expected by most, tho the Lord confortd me w^t th^t Scriptur, Isay 56 and 7th, Even th^m will I bring to my holy mountan, & make th^m joyfull in my house of prayer, & q^{ch} the Lord so fixed in my straite in my minde th^t I firmly relyed th^ron th^t he wold yet make her joyfull in his hous of prayer, & some freinds qwarreled th^t I seemed not more to fear her death. Now about this time, or a whyle befor, I cannot be posetive seeing qⁿ I came from Holland a dear freind had my nots & being obleidged to hyde th^m & some wer thⁿ lost & oth^{rs} spoyled q^{ch} discourraged me to wryt more, I have not the peremptor time of thinges, I say about this time or befor I had resolved to goe north and see freinds, and for that end bought a horse, but the verie night befor I was to take journey w^t honest W^m Ballach, I takes a most violent fitt of my cholick q^{ch} frustrat the same; & my father

coming to see us I desired the loan of ane hunder markes q^{ch} he shifted, so I sent to my sister & she sent it & I sent her my bond, this was now my strait. Then my kind brother in Law Mr Sutherland on day proposes to me & s^d th^r is severall Aberdeen's Mer^{ts} employes me in th^r bussines q^{ch} is troublsom & I take no comission except sometimes they send me a small complement of stockings or such, th^rfor will ye take the troubl upon yow & take yo^r comission as others & it will be a divertisment & may bring yow in more bussines. To q^{ch} after consideration I willinglie went in with & continouing thⁱⁿ & getting some small imployment th^t way it diverted me & brought in some small gaine, th^t helped to mentaine us. And against Whitsonday 1693 wee resolved to remove from the Kougat to the high Toun & accordinglie removed to Gladstone's close, & qⁿ we removed my wife w^t some difficultie was got caried th^r in a chayer, she was so low for her flix was so violent th^t the phisitions doubted if she could be w^t child, & have kept it in th^t her caise, but she charged th^m as they wold ans^r for it to give her nothing unsuitabl for on w^t child, & upon the 6 of Sept^{er} she was after great dainger, having nō streanth of her oun, by the marcy of God safilie delivered of a fourth son called Alex^r, after Alex^r Pyper, our dear and faithfull freind who was verie usful & instrumetal to bring me to imployment, & some time after th^r being ane interprise in England to reforme th^r coine q^{ch} made the speties of gold rise high th^r & having some money of my employers in my hand as I could I bought up ginies & sold & th^t year & beginning of nixt I made profit th^t way about five hunder merks q^{ch} helped me a litl & then I finding bullion grow plentie, by maney cobs coming from Irland, I resolved to try the Mint and recoinne th^m finding some others doing so & th^rby made some profit, q^{ch} w^t my Comissions in doing bussines for others began now to mentain my famely & in the end of 1694 I had about eighti on pounds Scots beside my sister's 100 M^{ks} I had borroued, & in 1695 my trade for others and the mint began to increase so th^t I began to ventur some pairt abroad in Irish butter to the valow of 744^{lb} q^{ch} was takn & careid into France & lost, q^{ch} was a sore loss to a poor man & th^t day after I gott account it was takn I went to see blist M^{rs} Ross & she began qⁿ I was

coming away to regrate my loss by the butter, my mind was pleasant & s^d its not the French hes takn it w^tout permission, and as the proverb is, a good fellow never lost but at ane ill felloues hand. The Lord cane make it up againe & indead it came so about, praise to his name.

Now the former year M^r David Watson sickned & was removed & hee having left me & other two curators to his only child, I had ingadged at his desire to accept, & qⁿ the other two wer desired both refused, & so the whol burthin th^rof lay on myselfe, as also the dischaing of a trust lay upon him, to uplift some money left by a good woman Margaret Kinnier to twenty two legators, most thought godly persones th^t stood in need, in both q^{ch} trusts the Lord made me prosperous & I hope faithfull. In reflection q^rof afterward I have bein made to bliss the Lord th^t helped me to uprichtnes th^rin, & I hope the Lord in marcie aproved th^rof, and M^r Watson, having gott ane allouance for his paines th^rin, gave me twentie dollers th^roff.

Now my trade increassing & my credit also, I ventured to borrow some money on interest to follow out the trade at the mint q^{ch} I fand profitable & sure & alwayes gott my money so as I could reackn on it.

Now our child Alex^r having been allwayes small & tender it seemes from the stress he gott in his mother's belly during her long and sore sicknes, fell sick & sweetlie depairted this life the 15 of March 1695, & the Lord made th^t sweet to me, this is a pairt of yo^r first fruits to the Lord.

Now all this whyle my cholicke now & then was heavie upon me, yet the Lord in marcie helping me to be succesfull in meanes for the mentinance of my famelie, was comfortable & att Whitsonday '95 we removed to Fleeming's Land & it pleased the Lord to be marcifull to us th^r also, & our dear freind James Brodie, brother to Aslisk, came & his two sisters & boarded w^t us & was comfortable to us, & the Lord was now & then giving me sweet blinkes of his favour.

And this year beside mentinance of the famely I added about 900^{lb} to the former stock of 81^{lb} tho I lost about 744^{lb} on butter, so th^t this was the year of my greatest loss & yet of my greatest profite; his wayes ar unsearchabl.

In the year 1696 I hade less dealing w^t the mint, bullion was scarce & added but litl to the stock th^t year.

In the beginning of 1697 I mett w^t a marcifull providence. A gentleman th^t had been a factor several yeares abroad, q^m I knew not, came home, & his factor heir was brock. He comes to me & s^d, I ame not weel acqwaint w^t the speties of money now in this countrie, & have some to receve, & desired I wold allow my servant to helpe him. I told him, S^r I am my man myselfe, & if yow advertise me shall give yow q^t helpe I can to yow, and w^tout more, the nixt day hee gives me bills for about twelve thousand pounds Scots, payabl to me and takes my nott to make them good to him qⁿ payed, & w^t all told me he wold give me nothing for my paines, only he wold not have use but for some litl of the mony for a time & if I could make use off it to advantadg, I might. And it hapned th^t shortlie th^rafter the English clipt money was called in to be recoynd in Ingland & also heir, so th^t bullion became exceeding plentie; and now I plenty of money resolved to improve the oportunitie & buyes English clipt money by waight & took to the mint, & gott still out new money to buy again & I gave some more for the ounce waight then the gold smithes & each telling ane oth^r th^t sold me th^t I gave best pryce & radey payment in good money they came thronging to me so th^t they came some times from twentie myles in Ingland & still came q^r I was & asked for me, so th^t this year I melted down about eightie ston waight of bullion mony in the mint & I reckned I had about ane hunder & sixtie pounds Sterling of profit th^rby, th^t year: & th^t beside other profits so th^t this year I mentained the famelie & added to free stock about 4000^{lb}.

In the year 1698 the Lord blissed me also w^t success in my affaires & incress of stock, only this year my wife was sore & long sick.

In the yeares 1699 & 1700 the Lord also continoued his wonted favour that way, my wife under some sence of threatned straites befor we came from Holland in concernednes th^rwith befor the Lord had th^t Scriptur brought to her minde w^t efficacie to the qwaieting of her minde, Job: 22 & 25, yea, the Almightye shall be thy defence, & thow shalt have plentie of silver, & as the Lord had often helped to be since concerned,

so now the Lord was making th^t word good now in some measur.

Michalmas this year I was chosen to be on of the Toun Council & Thesaurer to the Colladg, & th^t year I had a great trade in forraign bils as I had had ever since the Mint trade failled. And in 1701 having bein sore toyllid in the throng off bussines I began to have some litle competencie, & to plead w^t the Lord for a marcifull retreat from the throng of affaires q^rin the Lord had hitherto helped me in all my concernes to have ane tender regaird to the credit of the Ghospell, & as I had beine oft desiring to bliss him for restraining grace & preventing marcie, so also to plead for grace, wisdom and prudencie, meeknes of spirit, humblnes & loulines of mind & favor among thes hee trysted me among, & praise for ever to his blissed name for he was not wanting to me & I hope heard my requeests, & I most say it is to his praise th^t sometimes q^d most throng in bussines hee helped me to be in some measur fervent in spirit in desiring to serve him & to eye his Glorie, & blist be his name hee & hee only manadged afairs for me & me in them, & oftⁿ did lett me see my oun waiknes & th^t hee perfected his streanth th^rin, & oftⁿ qⁿ througest gave me most composednes of minde.

Now Michalmas 1702 I was chosen Toun Thesaurer & continued two yeares, and now I was much takne off from waiting upon my oun concerns and also trade began to faile.

And two yeares befor I had entred in co-pairtinarshipe w^t Bailie Nairn & W^m ffulton upon tobacco trade q^rin I continoued five yeares & made a reasonabl profit, but perceaving some things th^rin not acted fairly I w^tdrew & the Companie pairted & it pleased the Lord to guid me therin & sell my share to Bailie Nairn, so th^t beside clearing of the books q^{ch} for most pairt I gott to doe myselfe, I had but litle trouble.

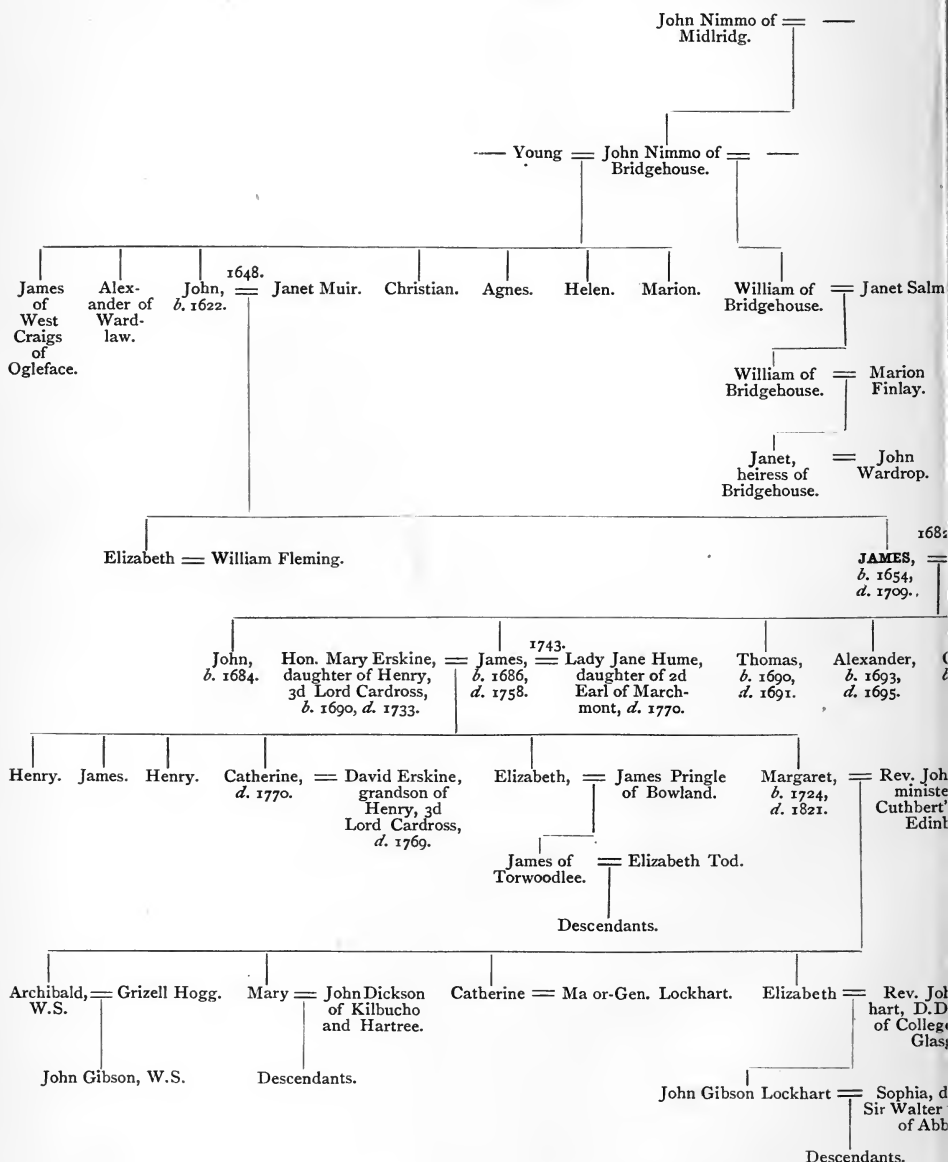
In Aprile ijth 1705 I fell sick & had for five weekes, befor a violent stitch in my right side, & my sicknes became a lent fever q^rin th^r was litl hopes of life & for fourtin weekes was still watched night & day q^{ch} I have not yet recovered. This w^t my Theasurership & decay of trade makes me to have had litle imployment since 1702; about the beginning th^roff on night being in companie w^t my good freind Bailie Ross in

Aberdeen, & telling him I wold be content to w^tdraw to a privat countrie liffe if I could gett a ferm to secure my money upon. He told me th^t th^r Toun was juste now to few off a convenient plott of ground w^tin two myles of the Toun, about the valow of q^t I desired, & if I pleased he wold inquire about it. I told him, I was content, & if th^r was aney probable apearance I wold come & see it. But qⁿ he went home ane oth^r was seeking it, & he was put to his peremptors, aither to let it goe, or take it for me. And judging it fitt for me, agreed for it, in my name, but qⁿ I went to see it, we got advice King W^m was dead, q^{ch} put me to some stand, & coming home, I fand my freinds avers for my going to th^t place of the countrie: & labord fairlie to gett free again, but my freind being ingadged, wold not lett him be at a disadvantadg & so payed it. But then the man th^t was upon it befor prest for it, finding I was content to pairt w^t it, & so he gott it & I was free and the Toun repayed me my money again.

Then I fell in tearmes w^t Cardarroch that belonged to a freind of my oun, about three myles from Glasgow, but after I had closed w^t it, & the rights ordered to be wryte, we differed upon the warrandize, & so this stoped also. I attemped severall other places for to retire to a country life, but as yet could not setl, providence on way or other, still putting stops. I hope it is of the Lord, to q^m I desire to looke, plead for guiding, & waite for him, as I cane in the use of all discovered meanes: for hitherto hee hes led & helped, & will yet help, for we kno not events, but all is known to him.

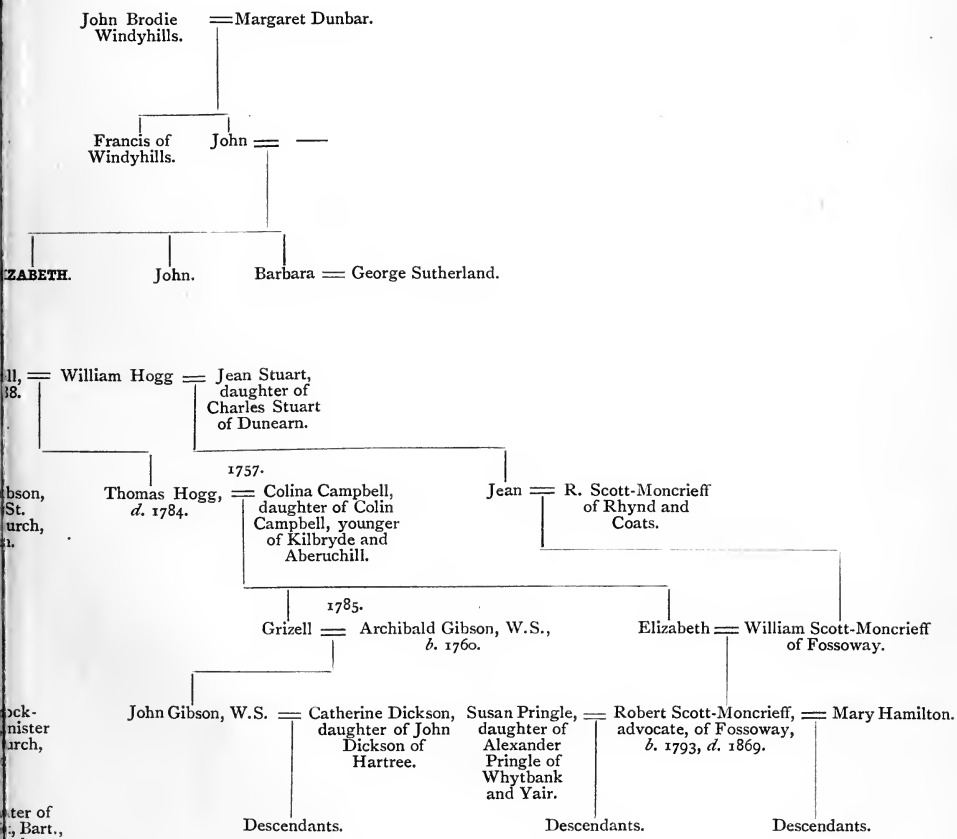
APPENDIX

SOME OF THE ANCESTORS AND DESCENDANTS



DIX I.

S OF JAMES NIMMO AND ELIZABETH BRODIE.



APPENDIX II.

COPY OF INSCRIPTION ON MONUMENTAL TABLET
IN THE PRECEPTORY OF TORPHICHEN TO THE
NIMMOS AND WARDROPS OF BRIDGEHOUSE:¹*To the Memory of*SUCH OF THE FAMILY OF BRIDGEHOUSE
AS ARE INTERRED HERE

JOHN NIMMO, died 1645	ELIZ. LIDDEL, died 1659
JOHN NIMMO, „ 1675	ELIZ. NIMMO, „ 1677
WM. NIMMO, „ 1715	JANET SALMON „ 1719
WM. NIMMO, „ 1751	MARION FINLAY, „ 1738
ALEX. NIMMO of Hillhouse, 1724	PAT NIMMO of Bormie, 1701

WM. WARDROP of Bridgehouse, Grandson of the last Wm. Nimmo,
was born 12 Nov. 1721, and died 10 May 1791

HTA. NIMMO, youngest daughter of the last Wm. Nimmo, and
relict of Rev. Wm. Nimmo, Minister of the Gospel
at Robertson, was born 23 May 1706,
and died 14 Oct. 1798

ALSO

Several of the younger children of the Family

This stone is erected

As a small tribute of respect to his Forefathers

Particularly to WM. WARDROP, his uncle, and HTA. NIMMO,
his grand-aunt

By

ALEXANDER WARDROP of Bridgehouse

1800

ALEX. WARDROP, died 1 May 1839, aged 72

MARG. WARDROP, died 1829 JN. NIMMO WARDROP, died 1838

DN. M^cF. WARDROP, 1837 ELIZ. WARDROP, 1836

¹ Bridgehouse, or 'the Bridghouse,' is now the property of the Gillons of Wallhouse, having been purchased by them from the family of Wardrop.

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